

Mawlana 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi's

Mission to  
AFGHANISTAN  
&  
SOVIET RUSSIA

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**Mawlana 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi's Mission  
to Afghanistan and Soviet Russia**

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## INTRODUCTION

The problem before me is to bring into bold relief and reconstruct from the hitherto scattered and contradictory mass of material, a coherent, meaningful, analytical and balanced account of the political career of Mawlana 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi (1872-1944); more specifically his mission to Afghanistan and Soviet Russia. This mission was undertaken in the 2nd decade of the early 20th century, a time of international crisis and inter-imperialistic contradictions. The Indian Muslim leadership endeavoured to capitalize on this situation; they ensured that the golden opportunity which had knocked at their doors did not go wasted. Consequently, they strove to pulverize the British Imperialism by spearheading a multiplicity of conspiratorial movements. One such movement was the "silk-letter movement" in which 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi was the central character or figure. In the main, though, we will be analyzing the various dimensions of Sindhi's political mission, his story, however, will not be complete without taking into account his broad conceptual system encompassing secular, rational and philosophical trends as well as the impact of his mission upon his subsequent thought and career.

Mawlana ‘Ubayd Allah Sindhi, (1872-1944) an important and interesting person in the religious history of Muslim India, belonged to the Deoband seminary, the seat of Muslim resistance to the British Imperialism. He has been dubbed an Indian nationalist “of the fire-brand” and a successful and elusive agitator”. He was a man of indefatigable energy. He was a thinker, a religious scholar, a teacher of the Quran and interpreter of the philosophy of Shah Waliullah (1703-1762), the father of modernism in the Indian subcontinent. Born to a Sikh family in the fertile-in-men area of Sialkot on 10th March 1872, Sindhi ended up in becoming a typical Mawlana, competent and well-versed in all the religious sciences in vogue in his day. In his personal diary, he says that his father had embraced the Sikh religion through the persuasion of his maternal grandfather. Formerly, Sindhi's father was a Hindu. He spent his childhood with his maternal uncles who held the office of patwaris (land officers) in Dera Ghazi Khan because Sindhi's father had died four months before his birth. He received his early education in the middle school at Jampur and while still in the third standard, an Arya samaj boy in the school gave him a copy of Tuhfatul Hind. The study of this book, as well as the Taqwiyatul Iman of Shah Isma‘il Shahid (1786-1831) created

an inclination in the heart of Sindhi towards Islam. He embraced Islam at the impressionable age of 16; the Islam which he discovered was not the hereditary one of the ordinary sort rather it had accrued to him through study, reflection and meditation. As regards Sindhi's conversion to Islam, Muhammad Sarwar, the student and biographer of Sindhi, states that the shirt of Sikhism had become too narrow for him who wanted to take it off to throw it away.

After publicly embracing Islam at Kotla Raham Shah at Muzaffargarh District, Sindhi crossed into Sindh where he came into contact with Hafiz Muhammad Siddiq Barchondi, the Junaid of his time as he was called then. Barchondi became the spiritual father of Sindhi who initiated him into various sufi orders. Sindhi developed a strong liking for Sindh because of his association with his spiritual mentor Barchondi. The mystical influence of Barchondi on Sindhi was so deep and incalculable that latter in life when Sindhi was face to face with life-shattering experiences and the hard facts of life—consider his exile for 25 years and the attendant-hardships---it was by virtue of tasawwuf that his commitment to Islam remained unchanged.

‘Ubayd Allah Sindhi then wandered for 6 years in the towns of the Punjab and Sindh, attending various Madrasas and learning Arabic as well as other religious sciences. Finally, he headed for Deoband at the age of 25. At Deoband, he came into contact with Mawlana Mahmood Hasan popularly known as the Sheikhul Hind (1851-1920) and studied under him. Sindhi was a precocious youth; he had been gifted with a creative mind prone to scholarship and learning. Since childhood, he was particularly fond of arithmetic and uqlaidas. At Deoband, Sindhi finished the entire course in one year with flying colours. His teacher and examiner Sayyid Ahmad remarked that if he (Sindhi) used his opportunities well, he will be the second Shah ‘Abdul ‘Aziz. Furthermore, his voracity for knowledge is obvious from the fact that he finished the sunan of Nasai and Ibn Maja in four days and Sirajiyah, a difficult book on Faraid (issues relating to inheritance) in two hours.

Mawlana Sindhi had a natural propensity towards politics from the very beginning. This bent of mind of Sindhi had been discerned by Sheikhul Hind, the guru and preceptor of Sindhi, who wanted to put this aspect of Sindhi's personality into good use. The type of works which Sheikhul Hind assigned to Sindhi mostly related to organization. For instance, in 1909 Sheikhul Hind asked

Sindhi to establish Jam<sup>fi</sup>yyatul Ansar, a body which was supposed to create rapprochement between the students of Deoband and Aligarh. Mawlana Sindhi remained the organizer of Jamiyyatul Ansar for four years. In 1913, he was asked by Sheikhul Hind to establish Nazaratul Ma<sup>ri</sup>f (the Quran academy). The purpose of Nazaratul Ma<sup>ri</sup>f, which had been based at Delhi, was to teach the Quran to the modern educated youth. Obviously this was an advance on the traditional type of education given in the madaris. This madrasa also brought closer the graduates of Deoband and Aligarh to each other.

Prior to the departure of Sindhi to Kabul, Mawlana Mahmud Hasan had already done some spade work in the tribal areas. Sindhi was supposed to help the Mujahidin in their skirmishes against the British, already started by the Mujahidin at the instance of Mahmud Hasan, on the one hand and participate in the diplomatic conspiratorial movement at Kabul on the other. Kabul itself had become a haven for Turkish-German and Indian revolutionaries. The Himalayan scheme of Sheikhul Hind was to work for the invasion of India with the help of Afghanistan, Turkey and the frontier tribesmen.



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Mawlana Sindhi lived in Afghanistan for seven years i.e. 1919-1922. This sojourn enabled him to have a first hand knowledge of conspiratorial Afghan politics and court intrigues. He had a meeting with Amir Habibullah(1872-1919), the Reformist King of Afghanistan as Sindhi calls him. In 1916 Amir Habibullah advised Sindhi to work in cooperation with Hindus. This advice of Habibullah implied that Sindhi should forget about pan-Islamism or the concern for the international Muslim community and instead concentrate on the problems of his own country. According to Sindhi, there was only one way of following the advice of Habibullah, namely, his joining of the Indian National Congress which he did.

In October 1922, 'Ubayd Allah left Kabul for Soviet Russia. What were the factors that contributed to Sindhi's departure from Kabul? In the first instance, it would appear that Amanullah could not maintain his anti-British elan which had been exhibited by him initially. When he showed a tendency of compromise towards the British, he became irrelevant for Sindhi as well as the rest of the Indian revolutionaries. In the second instance, Soviet Russia was looked upon a great rival of British Imperialism. The Indian nationalist leaders thought of holding a marriage of convenience

with the U.S.S.R. Consequently, the Indian revolutionaries fixed their gaze of hope upon that country. Even before the Bolshevik revolution, the Provisional Government had sent its emissaries to Czarist Russia for help. But then that kind of venture was naive and irrational for the simple reason that Czarist Russia was an ally of Great Britain during the first world war. However, when the Bolsheviks came into power, they broke their alliance with Britain and embarked upon a policy of encouraging and taking into its bosom those potential revolutionaries who might be helpful in spreading the Communist propaganda in their respective countries. Tashqand was the headquarter of the Indian Communist party founded by M.N. Roy (1894-1954) in 1920. There a branch of the Communist University of Toilers of the East had been established by Roy the 'first Indian Communist.' Sindhi had friendly relations with M.N. Roy. In November 1922, Sindhi crossed Oxus and became the guest of the Soviet Workers at Tirmiz. From there he went to Moscow where he stayed for nine months. Over this period, he is reported to have met the Soviet foreign minister four times. The translator of Sindhi in these meetings was Zafar Hasan Aibak. These meetings were intended to make an arrangement for the help of India in her struggle against Britain. After the defeat of

Turkey in 1918 and the occupation of Istanbul by the British troops, Sindhi had become convinced that befriending the Soviet Russia was the only way to liberate not only India but also the entire Muslim world from the hold of Britain.

The stay in Moscow provided an opportunity to Sindhi to have a first rate knowledge of the Russian revolution. According to Aibak, Sindhi's treaties with Chicheren, the Russian foreign minister, were political, not ideological. That is to say, he wanted to do business with the Soviet government rather than the Communist party of the Soviet Union. Sindhi was asking for unconditional help free from the scourge of the Communist Ideology. Aibak further maintains that Chicheren promised help in money but not in men. In order to concretize the Russian promise of help, Sindhi left Moscow in the July of 1923 for Turkey. 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi stayed in Turkey for three years. It was here that he published his political programme which was given the name of Mahabharat Sarvarajia Party. The programme envisaged an India of various sub-federated provinces. Each province would be autonomous in every respect except defence, currency and foreign affairs. Those areas where Muslims were in majority, Islam would be the state religion.<sup>61</sup> Sindhi published this programme in 1924,

six years before Allama Iqbal delivered his famous address of Allahabad. Zafar Hasan Aibak, the biographer and companion of Sindhi, claims with pride that Sindhi and Iqbal reached the same conclusion independently as regards the solution of the Muslim problem in India. That is to say, that Sindhi had given the concept of Pakistan six years ahead of Iqbal.

From Turkey ‘Ubayd Allah travelled to the Hijaz via Italy and Switzerland. The idea was that pilgrims from India might take his programme back home with themselves. In Arabia, he devoted most of his time to teaching the Philosophy of Shah Waliullah of Delhi (1703-1762). More specifically, he taught the Hujjat Allah Al-Baligha (God’s strongest proof), an encyclopedic work of Shah Waliullah to students. Furthermore, he dictated the tafsir of the Quran to Musa Jarullah, a prominent Russian scholar and revolutionary from Leningrad.

Mawlana Sindhi’s mission to Afghanistan and Soviet Russia was an important event of the early 20th century. It is regrettable that a balanced account of this mission is non-existent. The writers on Sindhi have projected their own preconceived and tendentious notions as regards Sindhi and his programme or mission. Some have tried to prove him a Communist; others a ‘heretic’. He has

been likened to a 'nightmare'; also he has been dubbed as "an expert intriguer". Some said that he was a man who had lost reason altogether. Others equated his progressive speech to "the gibberish talk characteristic of the old people" Rather than appreciating the sacrifices and the wise council of Sindhi, he has been subjected to negative criticism. I hope to fill the lacuna by attempting a balanced account of Sindhi worthy of his name.

A few words are on order as regards the sources. Primacy will be given to the original books written by Sindhi such as his personal diary and a few other books which are fortunately available today. This will be followed by the books attributed to the companions and students of Sindhi. In this connection, Zafar Hasan Aibak's Aap Biti in three volumes is by far the most authentic and informative. Similarly, Mawlana 'Abdullah Laghari's book Mawlana-Ubayd Allah Sindhi ki Sarguzisht-i-Kabul and Mawlana Husain Ahmad Madani's Naqsh-i-Hayat come in this category. Muhammad Sarwar's books which are numerous and exhaustive are also included in this category despite the fact the Sarwar has a tendency to speculation, and fan would speculation take the place of truth as the Quran tells us. In the third category will come those books which are written by contemporary historians and writers

whether Muslim or not. Sir Michael O' Dyer's book, India as I knew it; P.C. Bamford's book, the Histories of the Khilafat Movement; Shaukat Usmani's book. From Peshawar to Moscow; M.A. Persit's book, the Revolutionaries of India in Soviet Russia; Raees Ahmad Jafari's book Awraq-i Gum Gashta; Memoirs of M.N. Roy; and a host of other books would qualify the third category. In the fourth category will come those books which have appeared on the scene in the recent years. Finally it goes without saying that an objective, critical-analytical approach will hopefully be tried in this dissertation.

This dissertation is divided into five chapters. Chapter one will deal with the political setting around the time of Sindhi's grand mission. In chapter two, we will unfold and analyze Sindhi's mission to Afghanistan. In chapter three, we will concentrate on Sindhi's mission to the Soviet Russia. Chapter four will be devoted to the impact of Sindhi's mission upon his religious thought. In chapter five, we will delineate the impact of Sindhi's mission upon his political thought.

After going through and analyzing the various dimensions of Sindhi's mission or programme, it is possible that we may reach at certain definite conclusion or conclusions.

This dissertation would not have seen the light of the day but for the help, cooperation and feedback of my teachers, friends and colleagues. Therefore, it is my bounden duty to thank them all.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### THE POLITICAL SETTING

#### I

The battle of Plassey fought in 1757 culminating in the victory of the British<sup>1</sup> over the native Muslim principality of Bengal is a watershed in the politico-religious history of the Indian sub-continent. After the fall of Bengal, the various principalities of India such as Baksar, Rohilkhand, Mysore, Bombay and Deccan to mention only a few became prey to the British imperialism one after another.<sup>2</sup> Over a period of one hundred years i.e. from 1757 to 1857, the British subjugation of the Indian sub-continent was complete thanks to the political impotency of the latter Muhgals who had become mere shadows of their former selves as it were.

The loss of political power left the Indian Muslims with shattered illusions and broken hopes. At the hour of crisis, the various Muslim reformers and divines beckoned the bothered and bewildered Indian Muslim Community to the pristine path of Islam on the one hand and sought extraneous help to remedy its predicament on the other. The concept of approaching external agents to come to the rescue of the Indian Muslims is traceable to

the times of Shah Waliullah of Delhi (1703-1762) who wrote to Ahmad Shah Abdali, an Afghan Prince, in 1761 to invade India and frustrate the ambitions of the Marathas, Sikhs and Jats,<sup>3</sup> who, in the wake of the weakness of the Mughals had become a source of considerable trouble for the Indian Muslims. In his life time, Waliullah witnessed the era of ten Mughal princes one after another.<sup>4</sup> This quick succession of the politically impotent Mughal emperors, incompetent heirs to the throne of Aurangzeb Alamgir (the world capturer) was symptomatic of the fact that the magnificent edifice of the Mughal empire was going to crumble. Waliullah could see for himself the gloomy future of the Mughals. Consequently, he endeavoured to solidify the Muslim society and strengthen the Mughal empire by writing to Muslim rulers and nobles such as Abdali, Najib-ud-Dawla and Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah.<sup>5</sup> Even though Waliullah could not prop up the decadent Mughal empire as he wished, for the simple reason that he was only a scholar and a thinker, though of a high calibre, nevertheless his project of inviting Ahmad Shah Abdali was a great success. Consequent upon the timely and Judicious initiative of Shah Waliullah, the third battle of Panipat was staged in 1761<sup>6</sup> in which the Maratha and Sikh power was uprooted. The next year Shah

Waliullah died with conviction and peace of mind, accrued as it must have been to him, that he had done his part of the duty.

The mission of Shah Waliullah was carried through by his sons and successors. As early as 1803, when India had not passed to the British crown and when its destiny was in the hands of the 24 directors of the East India Company,<sup>7</sup> Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz (1746-1824) the eldest son of Shah Waliullah, issued a Fatwa (religious verdict) that India had ceased to be Dar-ul-Islam (The Abode of Islam) and it had become Dar-ul-Harb (The Abode of the Enemy).<sup>8</sup> The ramifications or implications of this Fatwa were two-fold, namely, either the Indian Muslim Community should rise in armed rebellion against the alien rulers or if that was not possible then they should make Hijra (exodus or emigration) to the nearest Muslim country.<sup>9</sup> In the subsequent years both the alternatives were put to use by the Indian Muslims. The text of the fatwa of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz ran like the following.

"In this city (Delhi) the rule of Imamul Muslimin is not in force and the rule of the Christian officers is in force with impunity. What is meant by the enforcement of the orders of Kufar is that the infidels are acting as rulers in administration and management of the affairs of the subjects, in the collection of revenues and dues, and taxes on commerce, in checking highway robbery and theft, in deciding disputes and enforcing penalties for

crimes. It is of no significance if they do not interfere in the observance of some Islamic rites e.g. the Friday and the two 'Eid prayers, the Azan (calling for prayer) and sacrifice of cow, because these things do not hold any value in their eyes. They demolish mosques without any hesitation. Without their permission no Muslim or Zimmi can enter this city and its environs. And if they do not object to the entry of visitors, travellers and traders in their domain, it is because of their own interest. Distinguished persons like Shuja-ul-Mulk and Wilayati Begum could not enter their cities without obtaining their permission. The Christian control extends from this city to Calcutta".<sup>10</sup>

For quite some time Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz was in search of a young, energetic Muslim who would translate his vision into reality. He found this person in the charismatic personality of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid (1786-1831) who had been born 24 years after the death of Shah Waliullah.<sup>11</sup> After having shown allegiance at the hands of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz and receiving a staff and a robe from him, Sayyid Ahmad embarked upon Jihad in 1826. Initially, this Jihad was geared against the Sikhs who constituted a stumble block in the way of Sayyid Ahmad. Since the Sikhs were the lesser-foe, it was in the fitness of things to come to terms with this group after whose liquidation, the Sayyid would be free, he thought, to deal with the bigger-foe i.e. the British. In other words,

it was a question of priority for the Sayyid.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, since the British considered both the Sikhs and the followers of Sayyid Ahmad as their potential rivals, it only served their purpose to rejoice in, and welcome, the troubles between the Sayyid and the Sikhs. That is to say, it was in the interest of the British to watch one group of foes slaughtering another group.

After the massacre of Balakot in 1831 in which Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, Shah Isma'il Shaheed, the grandson of Shah Waliullah, and nearly 600 Mujahidin laid down their lives<sup>13</sup> while fighting the Sikhs, the whole of the Punjab came under the Sikh rule. However, the heyday of the Sikhs was very transitory as in 1849 the Punjab was annexed by the British. After the occupation of the Punjab by the British, the successors of Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed came under the direct scourge of the British. The successors of Sayyid Ahmad, dubbed as the so called Indian Wahhabis, gave unprecedented resistance to the British, so much so that between 1850 and 1863, 20 expeditions consisting of 60,000 British and Indian soldiers were sent to Ambeyla and Malka (in Bunir) to quell the uprising of the mujahidin.<sup>14</sup>

The descendants of Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed settled in Sithana which became the centre of their activities.<sup>15</sup> Later, the

headquarter was shifted to Malka situated in Chamla Valley in Bunir. Mawlana ʿAbdul Karim (d. 1915) who had taken over the headship of the mujahidin from his brother Mawlana ʿAbdullah<sup>16</sup> (d. 1902), shifted the headquarter of the mujahidin to Smasi also in Bunir. Mawlana ʿAbdul Karim died on 11 February 1915. He was succeeded by Mawlana Nimatullah, the grandson of Mawlana ʿAbdullah. Nimatullah was murdered by Muhammad Yusuf of Chamarkand in 1921.<sup>17</sup> Ghulam Rasul Mihr says about Yusuf that probably his father was employed at Mardan. The real name of Muhammad Yusuf was ʿAbdur Rashid and he had received education up to graduation level.<sup>18</sup>

## II

The mujahidin kept the flame of the Jihad alive. One of their representatives i.e. Mawlana ʿAbdur Rahim alias Mawlana Bashir (d. 1934) who belonged to the ahl-i-hadith sect of Lahore, migrated to Chamarkand (Situated on the border of Mohammad and the Bajur Agency very close to Afghanistan) and settled there.<sup>19</sup> He established the Chamarkand centre. Bashir was instrumental in goading the 15 young Muslim students from the various colleges of Lahore to emigrate to Kabul. Among these enthusiastic students, 8 were from Government College Lahore; four were from King

Edwards Medical College and one each from Aitchison College and Islamia College.<sup>20</sup>

On 6 January 1915 at midnight, these students reached the shores of Ravi through a ship. There they took an oath of secrecy on the Quran to participate in practical Jihad. On Friday the 5th February 1915, they reached Haripur via a train. From there they entered the state of Amb; crossed Indus and reached the tribal territory<sup>21</sup> of Bunir which was far away from the clutches of the British. From the Mujahid camp at Smast, they reached Kabul. The ultimate goal of these students was to go to Turkey; enlist in its army and fight the allied forces. At Kabul they were incarcerated by Amir Habibullah Khan. Later, on the recommendation of the anti-British members at the court, they were released.<sup>22</sup> Laghari claims that these students were released by Sindhi after the latter had a meeting with Sardar Nasrullah Khan, brother to Amir Habibullah, the Naib al-Sultanat.<sup>23</sup>

A brief description of the 15 enthusiastic students from Lahore is now on order.

1. Mian <sup>☞</sup>Abdul Bari: He was a student of M.A. at Government College Lahore. Later, he became a

leader of the Muslim League and Jinnah Awami League.<sup>24</sup>

2. Shaikh ʿAbdul Qadir: He was also an M.A. student at Government College Lahore. His fictitious name was Ismaʿil.
3. Allah Nawaz Khan S/O Khan Bahadar Rabb Nawaz Khan was from Multan. His fictitious name was Muhammad ʿUmar. He was a student of B.A. at Government College Lahore.
4. Shaikh ʿAbdullah: His fictitious name was Sadiq. He was a fourth year student at Government College Lahore.
5. ʿAbdur Rashid S/O Hafiz ʿAbdul Latif: He belonged to Lahore. His fictitious name was Yusuf. He was a fourth year student at Government College Lahore.
6. Zafar Hasan<sup>25</sup> S/O Hafiz Alimuddin was also a student of fourth year at Government College Lahore. He was from Karnal the same place where Liaqat ʿAli Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan belonged.



7. Muhammad Hasan S/O Ghulam Nabi: His fictitious name was Yaqub. He belonged to Lahore and was a second year student at Government College.
8. Khushi Muhammad S/O Jan Muhammad was a student of 2nd year at King Edwards Medical College Lahore. He was from Jalandher. He was known with three fictitious names i.e. Ahmad Hasan, Mirza Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Ali and Sipassi.
9. <sup>c</sup>Abdul Hamid S/O Muhammad Husain was from Ludhaiana. His fictitious name was Yahya.
10. Rahmat <sup>c</sup>Ali S/O Karam Ilahi belonged to Lahore. His fictitious name was Zakariya. He was a student of 2nd year at King Edwards Medical College Lahore. After independence, Rahmat <sup>c</sup>Ali taught French language at Oriental College Lahore for a few years.
11. Shaikh Shujauallah was a 2nd year student at King Edwards Medical College Lahore. His fictitious name was Muhammad Yunus.
12. Shuja Nawaz brother of Allah Nawaz Khan. His fictitious name was Muhammad.

13. Shaikh ʿAbdul Haqq was a new-convert. His fictitious name was Ilyas.
14. Ghulam Husain of Government College and
15. ʿAbdul Khaliq of Chiefs College also took oaths but for some reasons they could not go with this band.<sup>26</sup>

A few more students from Kohat and Peshawar also joined this group. This group which entered Afghanistan via Tirah consisted of the following students.

1. Faqir Shah.
2. ʿAbdul Latif, a student of Islamia College Peshawar.
3. ʿAbdul Hamid Kashmiri from Kohat Police.<sup>27</sup>

According to Y.B. Mathur, the party of students included Maulvi Fazal Ilahi, who however, did not proceed further than Haripur. The students were interviewed by the Amir of Smast Maulvi Nimatullah and then sent to Kabul. En route to Kabul, they stayed in village Tasha with Arbab Ghulam Nabi Khan S/O Arbab Naqshband Khan of Tahkal Bala, who was then a great Jagirdar. When they were arrested in Kabul, on one of them was found a letter from the Amir of Smast addressed to Sardar Nasrullah Khan, brother of Amir Habibullah Khan. According to Mathur, these students made a public statement in which they said that they had

left India because the British Government wished to conscript them and then send them to fight against Turkey.<sup>28</sup>

### III

After having galvanized these students, Mawlana Bashir also migrated to Kabul and met Mawlana Sindhi. With the suggestion of the group of mujahidin represented by Bashir, an association was formed which was named Jundullah (the army of God). This was a voluntary organization which resembled the Christian Salvation Army.<sup>29</sup> By virtue of this organization, the mutual rivalries which had surfaced between the students from Lahore because of idleness were arrested. Thus the energies of this group which were being wasted in mutual disputes were channelized into fruitful social and political work. Haji Turangzai<sup>30</sup> (1858-1937) had left his native village of Turangzai and settled in the tribal area on the instruction of the Shaikhul Hind. He prepared a group of local pathan mujahids. Some members of this group went to Kabul and joined the Jundullah.

Haji Turangzai was associated with the freedom movement of the Shaikhul Hind. In the first World war, Turkey became the ally of Germany against Britain and other allied forces such as France, Italy, Japan and the U.S.A. The sympathies of the Indian

Muslims towards Germany viewed as the rival of Britain were natural.<sup>31</sup> When the call for Jihad was pronounced on behalf of the Caliph of Islam, Turangzai arranged insurrection. When he sensed his arrest, he migrated to Bunir despite his old age. At Bunir, Turangzai declared war against the British. Because of the spiritual influence of Turangzai, a large army of tribesmen came into being. The mujahidin also joined this army. They invaded a British checkpost at Sudham. This Skirmish was not a great success due to the disorganized nature of Turangazi's band. Later, he shifted his centre of activity to Swat and from there to the Mohamand Agency.<sup>32</sup>

#### IV

The natural but unrealistic and romantic propensity of Indian Muslims towards Germany could be understood in terms of the rivalry and jealousy which existed between the two countries. Eversince the thought of replacing the British in India, the Germans had fixed their gaze upon the political situation in India. After the partition of Bengal in 1905, a terrorist situation had come into existence which Germany was eager to capitalize on. Keeping this in view, the famous German general and writer Van Burn Hardy wrote in 1911. "It is hoped that Hindus and Muslims will

unite in Bengal and their unity will undermine the British rule in India".<sup>33</sup> At the break of the first world war the Germans desired to create disturbances in India. This was geared to keep the British busy so that instead of making recruits and sending them to foreign fronts, their energies will be spent on quelling local rebellion. Two schemes were drawn out for this purpose. One was to supply arms to those Bengalis who had busied themselves with acts of terrorism. Mostly they were Hindus and their influence was confined to their fellow co-religionists. The second scheme was to train the tribesmen militarily, equip them with arms and goad Afghanistan to invade India.<sup>34</sup>

## V

A series of events at the beginning of the 20th century aggravated this state of affairs. It sent tremors of shock among Indian Muslims and expedited their desire or goal to freedom. For instance the partition of Bengal as already mentioned, and its annulment in 1911 infuriated the Muslims of India. Bengal was a larger province and hence difficult to manage in terms of administration. Consequently, in order to make things easier, Bengal was partitioned. Incidentally the partition gave some benefits to the Muslim Community. Formerly the headquarter of

United Bengal i.e. Calcutta<sup>35</sup> was a site of economic activities where the people from East Bengal would converge not only for high trade but also for seeking Justice at the courts. The latter entailed employing Hindu lawyers and coming into contact with the Hindu officials. Since the partition implied dividing the significance of Calcutta into half, it was resented by Hindus who initiated disturbances in an effort to revoke the partition. The British, who were essentially non-committal as regards the interests of any community, be it Muslim or Hindu, gave in to the Hindu pressure and rescinded the partition. The rescission of the partition drove home the lesson to the Muslims that the British were not fair to the Muslims.

In the year 1911, Italy invaded Lybia without any provocation and conquered it in 1912. Lybia was then a part of the Ottoman empire.<sup>36</sup> While Turkey was involved and entangled in Italy, the European powers encouraged the Balkan states of Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Greece to attack Turkey in 1912.<sup>37</sup> Turkey, viewed as the "sick man of Europe"<sup>38</sup> lost her European parts except Constantinople. Assuredly, the fortunes of Turkey, the depository of Muslim hopes and aspirations for six hundred years, began to dwindle.<sup>39</sup> But this was not all. When the first world war

broke out, Turkey was compelled to declare war. Two of her warships were captured by the British. She was invaded from about eight or nine fronts.<sup>40</sup> Around this time, the British made the propaganda that Turks were not the Caliphs of Islam. It was ironical on the part of the British to make this propaganda, for they had sent a delegation to Sultan ‘Abdul Hamid in 1857 with the intention of getting a firman from him in which the sublime Porte in the capacity of the Caliph of Islam had told the Indian Muslims, not to fight with the British.<sup>41</sup>

In the year 1915, Italy also jumped into the war against Turkey. Around this time, the British expedited their propaganda to pit the Arabs against Turks. Thomas Edward Lawrence (1880-1935) a certain British Colonel, who later became known with the legendary name of the “Lawrence of Arabia” played a pivotal role in the conspiracy of exciting the Arabs against Turks. When Husain Ibn ‘Ali popularly known as the Sharif Husain of Makkah revolted from the Ottoman empire in June 1916, Lawrence was stationed at Egypt. From there, he was sent on a mission to Arabia. Obviously, his mission was to work on this rebellion and play the role of a ‘King-maker’ in the Turkish-held Arab-lands. He contacted the sons of Husain namely, ‘Abdullah and Faisal and in

the latter's army, Lawrence became a political and liaison officer. He played upon the aspirations of the dissident Shaikhs and bribed them through gold and future self-rule. Lawrence was an expert on guerrilla warfare. He resorted to such tactics as 'hit and run', mining bridges and supply trains. He was responsible for blocking the Damascus Madina Road so that the Turkish soldiers would become helpless and they could not reach out to crush the rebellion.<sup>42</sup>

The British thought that since Makkah was a sacred place for the Muslims, installing the Sharif of Makkah as a Caliph in revolt to the Ottoman Caliph would be appreciated by the Muslims. However, far from supporting the Sharif, the Indian Muslims resented his office. In their opinion Husain had become a renegade and an impostor by his act of rebellion. Dr. Ansari, even declared that the Hijaz had become Dar-ul-Harb and Indian Muslims should stop going on pilgrimage to the Hijaz.<sup>43</sup>

Similarly, the concept of Arab nationalism served as fuel on the fire which had already been ignited and whose flames had engulfed the whole world. By virtue of the adroit diplomacy of the "Lawrence of Arabia", the Arab states of Palestine, Syria, Iraq and Saudi Arabia ceded from the Ottoman empire.<sup>44</sup> Syria and



Lebanon were taken by France while Iraq and Palestine were occupied by Britain.<sup>45</sup> The dismemberment of the Turkish empire caused dismay among Indian Muslims. Earlier, they brooded over their own misfortunes; now it was a flood which spread over the greater part of the Muslim world and threatened to destroy it.<sup>46</sup> It is well-worth to point out that despite the liquidation of the Turkish empire, Turks were able to keep the sovereignty of their fatherland, thanks to the brave leadership of Mustafa Kamal Ataturk. France and Britain had already made a programme of enslaving Turkey, but the fearless Ataturk dashed their ambitions to dust.<sup>47</sup>

## VI

The freedom of India was a Himalayan task which had forced its revolutionaries to scatter in the whole world and wait for the opportune time to fix the last nail in the coffin of British Imperialism. These revolutionaries cherished the vision that the emancipation of India which constituted the greatest imperialism of all, would contribute to the freedom of all the Islamic as well as the third world countries.<sup>48</sup> At the break of the first world war, several Indians had gone to Berlin where they organized anti-British activities under the leadership of a famous Indian revolutionary

namely, Har Dayal.<sup>49</sup> (1887-1939) Prior to this, Har Dayal had established ghadar party<sup>50</sup> at the U.S.A. in 1913. In the same year, Har Dayal founded an anti-British periodical in San Francisco. The purpose of this periodical was to politicize the Indians then living in Canada and the U.S.A. and propagate anti-British ideas. The network of ghadar party, extended from the Punjab to Kabul, Rangoon and Singapore.<sup>51</sup> Mawlana Barakatullah Bhopali, a member of the ghadar party had also joined the Berlin group.

Similarly, in the year 1915, when Mawlana Sindhi set out on his grand mission, another Indian revolutionary, namely, M.N. Roy, left India for America with the avowed intention of exploring ways to unseat the British rule in India. M.N. Roy, a Bengali Brahman, started his career with political dacoity. This was meant to serve two purposes. One was to create law and order situation as is the wont of any disgruntled politician who happens to be in opposition. The second was to raise funds through these dacoities which in turn could be utilized in the freedom movement. On the occasion of one such dacoity, Roy is reported to have told the man from whom he had snatch 2000 rupees, that he didn't need to worry, for, the amount was like a trust with Roy and it would be returned to him (the owner) after the freedom of India.<sup>52</sup> It is an

irony of fate that Roy started the study of Communism to combat it; but in the process he fell a prey to it.<sup>53</sup> However, during the closing days of his life, Roy became disillusioned with Communism and he preached the gospel of radical humanism.

On the state of affairs which prevailed around the first world war, Roy wrote in his memoirs "On the outbreak of the first world war in 1914, Indian revolutionaries in exile looked towards Germany as the land of hope, and rushed there full of great expectations. By the end of the year, the news reached us in India that the Indian revolutionary Committee in Berlin had obtained from the German government the promise of arms and money required to declare the war of independence. The news spread like wild fire, to affect the Indian soldiers of the British army also".<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, about the expectations of the Indians as regards Germany, he wrote, "The Germans had never meant to give us any considerable help and the whole German plan of giving arms to Indian revolutionaries was a hoax, a veritable swindle".<sup>55</sup>

Roy was sent to Tashqand in 1920 as a member of the Central Asiatic Bureau of the Comintern.<sup>56</sup> In September 1920, he greeted 40 Muslims at Tashqand. There he formed an emigre party of Indian Communists. Muhammad Shafiq became the

general secretary of this organization. Other members of this body were M.N. Roy himself, his wife Evelyn, 'Abdur Rabb Peshawari, Shaukat Usmani and others. Part of Roy's programme was to provide military supplies and financial aid to the turbulent frontier tribes in order to create rebellion along India's border with Afghanistan, and to raise from among the deserters of the Indian army and other groups a liberation army which would use the frontier area as a base of operation.<sup>57</sup>

## VII

On the other hand, the 'Ulama of Deoband headed by Mawlana Mahmud Hasan had a definite programme as regards the freedom of India. The ramifications of the fatwa of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz issued in 1803 were visible everywhere. The Jihad movement launched by Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed in 1826, that is, two years after the death of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz was a logical conclusion of this fatwa. Similarly in the great conflagration of 1857 prominent 'Ulama and divines such as Haji Imdadullah Muhajir Makki, Shah Muhammad Ishaq (d. 1846) Shah Muhammad Yaqub, the grandsons of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, Mawlana Muhammad Qasim Nanotavi, to mention only a few, participated. In later years, the responsibility of organizing Jihad against the British fell on the

shoulders of Shaikhul Hind Mahmud Hasan who was in constant touch with the mujahid camp at the Frontier. Mahmud Hasan discovered an able student in the person of <sup>c</sup>Ubayd Allah Sindhi who was almost a born revolutionary. Both the teacher and the student influenced each other considerably. Mawlana Sindhi had a programme of spreading the gospel of Jihad through the agency of the graduates of Deoband throughout the Indian subcontinent. But the authorities of Deoband removed him from the institution because they did not wish to give any pretext to the British to close it down. The British Indian government also wished to remove Sindhi from Deoband,<sup>58</sup> for, the British had already comprehended the political and revolutionary nature of Sindhi's mind. They did not like him at the madrassa lest the Mawlana might galvanize the sedentary teachers of Deoband into some volatile action. The removal of Sindhi from the dar-al-Ulum was viewed a great blessing in disguise by his mentor, the Sheikul Hind, who wanted to assign him a bigger task instead of the didactic work of teaching at Deoband. Consequently, Sindhi left Deoband in 1913 at the instance of the 'Shaikhul Hind and moved to Delhi where he organized the Nazaratul Ma<sup>c</sup>arif (The Quran Academy) with the help of Hakim Ajmal Khan and Nawab Wiqar-ul-Mulk. The

ostensible purpose of the Quran Academy was to teach the Quran to those Muslim youth who had come under the influence of the secular British education.<sup>59</sup> However, the real purpose of the Quran Academy was to mobilize Indian Pan-Islamists to take up Jihad against the British.<sup>60</sup> At the Academy, Sindhi also wrote two pamphlets stressing the importance of the solidarity of the Muslim world. In these tracts, he advocated a plan of action to the effect that there should be an invasion of India from outside to be followed by an internal rebellion against the British.<sup>61</sup>

Mawlana Sindhi was working in close association with Mahmud Hasan, an enthusiastic but ill-informed Muslim like the majority of his fellow countrymen,<sup>62</sup> who fancied that the work for Pak-Islamic goal leading to the planned liquidation of foreign rule could best be achieved by going to a foreign country such as Afghanistan. It should be pointed out that the phantastic euphoria of putting reliance on external help has always preoccupied the minds of the 'Ulama. Kabul itself had a great attraction for the Indian revolutionaries. The benevolent neutrality, if not the real support of the Afghan monarchs, created a comfortable atmosphere congenial for conspiratorial work. For this reason, Kabul, like Berlin, had become a beehive and safe haven for the international

revolutionaries. It was in view of these factors that both the Shaikhul Hind and Sindhi decided that they would leave India for the Hijaz and Kabul respectively. Shaikhul Hind left for the Hijaz in September 1915 escaping a narrow arrest by the British intelligence police who were already after him. The news that Mahmood Hasan was going to be arrested leaked out through some Muslim sympathizers. Dr. Ansari (1880-1936) informed Mahmood Hasan of the plot against him and arranged a safe passage for the Mawlana. The latter was in touch with Hindu and Sikh rebels who would often visit him secretly at Deoband where he had rented a house especially for accommodating them on these visits.<sup>63</sup>

Mawlana Mahmood Hasan could not go to Yaghistan (the tribal area where the mujahidin were stationed) himself, for in that eventuality there would be left nobody to channelize money to the freedom fighters. Later, when the actual Jihad began in the tribal area in the leadership of Haji Turangzai and Mawlana Saifur Rahman, Mahmood Hasan intended to go there but then the news of the scarcity of corteges dawned upon him the futility of the trip to the Yaghistan. Instead, he went about his programme of going to the Hijaz to seek financial and military assistance of the Turkish officials for the purpose of Jihad.

In Madina, Mahmood Hasan, the mentor of Sindhi had meetings with Anwar Pasha and Jamal Pasha.<sup>64</sup> He also received some documents from them which included the ghalib nama. Mahmood Hasan made a second attempt to go to Yaghistan. For this purpose, he asked the Turkish authorities to make arrangements for his departure to Yaghistan via Iran. Jamal Pasha apologized for the simple reason that the road was blocked as the Russian troops were present in Iran fighting at Sultanabad where the British troops had entered Iraq. Against this background, it was not possible for Turkish authorities to escort Mahmood Hasan to Yaghistan. Therefore, he was well advised to carry on his activities in the Hijaz.<sup>65</sup>

Meanwhile, the Sharif Husain of Makkah revolted from the Ottoman empire and invaded Taif. Mahmood Hasan reached Makkah with much difficulty. There, he was asked to sign a fatwa prepared by the Ulama loyal to the Sharif in which the Turks had been dubbed as heretics and Sharif's action had been justified. Obviously, Mahmood Hasan could not ratify such a document. Consequently he was arrested by the Sharif and handed over to the British who transported him to Malta.



## VIII

As mentioned earlier, Kabul had become a hub of Turkish-German and Indian revolutionaries. The revolutionaries of these countries who had converged on Berlin at the outbreak of the great war and who had formed a party called the Indian National Party decided to send a mission to Kabul. This mission which became famous with the name "Turkish-German mission" reached Kabul at the end of 1915. Its purpose was to find ways and means to put pressure upon British India with a view to weaken it. Two Indians, namely, Mawlana Barakatullah Bhopali (1859-1927) and Raja Mahendra Pratap were included in the mission. Barakatullah belonged to the family of 'Ulama in Bhopal. He had studied at the Madrasa-i-Sulaimaniyah there. In 1883 he came into contact with Jamal-ud-Din Afghani (1838-1897) when the latter was touring India and fomenting rebellion through his grandiose harangues and eloquent speeches. Barakatullah was very much impressed by Afghani. Barakatullah went to Bombay, studied there for years to learn English and then left for England. His commitment to Pan-Islamic ideals coupled with his anti-British frenzy dragged him to various countries of the world. When he visited Japan, he was appointed a professor of Urdu and Persian at Tokyo University

from which place he brought out a revolutionary paper called the "Islamic Fraternity". Since the paper propagated anti-British Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asiatic ideas, and since Japan was an ally of Britain in the first World War<sup>66</sup>, Bhopali's paper was muzzled and he was driven out from Japan under the pressure from Britain.<sup>67</sup> However, after the suppression of Islamic Fraternity, Barakatullah continued to express his anti-British sentiments through the columns of Siraj-ul-Akhbar.<sup>68</sup> The Sirajul-Akhbar, which was very popular among the mujahidin and the leading Pan-Islamists, had already declared India as Dar-ul-Harb.<sup>69</sup> In 1914, Barakatullah joined the Indian National Party at Berlin and came into contact with the German Government, which, in order to 'grab power' and prove her superiority and national aggrandizement over the rest of Europe had opened hostilities against the United front of Britain, France, Japan and later the U.S.A. The Germans thought that Barakatullah's presence in Kabul might be helpful. However, the parleys between Sindhi, members of the Turkish-German mission and the Afghan Government proved abortive.<sup>70</sup>

Meanwhile, Mawlana Mahmood Hasan succeeded in getting a proclamation from Ghalib Pasha, the military governor of Hijaz. This document was written in Persian and was called Ghalib-nama.

The Ghalib-nama actually a letter from Ghalib Pasha, was addressed to Muslims all over the world proclaiming Jihad on behalf of the Caliph against the enemies of Islam, and exhorting them to attack the tyrannical Christian governments wherever they groaned under them.<sup>71</sup> The Ghalib-nama was carried to India by Mawlana Muhammad Mian, Alias Mansoor Ansari, a co-worker of the Shaikhul Hind who had followed him to the Hijaz. Copies of Ghalib-nama were distributed among the frontier tribesmen. Ansari escaped arrest as he travelled to the tribal territory. Extracts from the text of Ghalib-nama run like the following.

“The Muslims of Asia, Europe and Africa have equipped themselves with all kinds of arms and have hastened to join the Jihad (now being wagged) for the sake of Allah. Thanks to Almighty God, the Turkish army and the mujahids have overcome the enemies of Islam.....Muslims! Attack the tyrannical Christian Government under whose bondage you are living. Hasten to put all your efforts with strong determination to strangle the enemy to death and show your hatred and enmity for them. It may be known to you that Mawlana Mahmood Hasan Effendi, formerly of Deoband madrasa in India, came to us and sought our counsel. We agreed with him on this matter and gave him necessary instructions. If he comes to you, trust him and help him with men, money and whatever he needs”.<sup>72</sup>

According to I.H. Qureshi, very few copies of Ghalib-nama were distributed.<sup>73</sup> Apart from Ghalib-nama, Ghalib Pasha gave Mahmood Hasan another letter addressed to Basri Pasha, the

Governor of Madina, in which he had been told to make an arrangement for the escorting of Mahmood Hasan to Istanbul and arrange for his meeting with Anwar Pasha and Jamal Pasha. A third letter was issued to Hasan which was addressed to Anwar Pasha, the Turkish war minister, in which the latter had been told to help Mahmood Hasan in his scheme.<sup>74</sup> Mahmood Hasan took these recommendatory letters to Madina. Incidentally, Anwar Pasha and Jamal Pasha were in Madina. So Mahmood met these two Turkish authorities there and his trip to Istanbul was not considered necessary.<sup>75</sup>

Prior to Mahmood Hasan's departure to the Hijaz, he summoned Mawlana Sindhi and addressed him thus: As long as you prepare a group of modern educated Muslims at the Quran Academy, the British would have turned thousands of Muslims into heretics by virtue of their propaganda and secular system of education. Therefore abandon your business of teaching and go to Kabul. Sindhi says that he could not understand the equivocal language of Shaikhul Hind but since he kept his teacher in high esteem, he had no choice but to agree with the proposal. On the other hand, Shaikhul Hind had already done some spade work in the tribal area where his students and sympathizers were in

abundance. Mawlana Saifur Rahman had shifted from Delhi to Peshawar where he had opened a branch of the Hizbullah, the party of Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad. Haji Turangzai was elected the leader of this party.<sup>76</sup> The Shaikhul Hind patronized these people and instructed the central leaders to give up their easy way of life and resort to active warfare. Mawlana Saifur Rahman and Haji Turangzai had already embarked upon Skirmishes against the British. Furthermore, mullah Sahib of Sandaki (whose real name was <sup>c</sup>Ali Ahmad), Mawlana Fazal Mahmood, Mawlana Muhammad Akbar and Maulvi Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Ali Qusuri were associated with the movement of the Shaikhul Hind.<sup>77</sup> <sup>c</sup>Abdul Ghaffar Khan had made Baichah at the hands of the Shaikhul Hind and met him on several occasions.<sup>78</sup>

## IX

Maulvi Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Ali Qusuri (1851-1956), a close associate of Mawlana Sindhi and a teacher at Habibiya school at Kabul, studied Maths at Cambridge university. One month before the outbreak of the war, he returned to India. After making consultations with the national leaders, he decided to go to Afghanistan, because "Britain and Russia had decided to bring Afghanistan under their influence like Iran".<sup>79</sup> Qusuri's mission

was to inform Afghanistan of this 'danger'. The scheme of Qusuri was to forge an alliance between Amir Habibullah Khan and the tribesmen and to pit this united front against the British. The time for an onslaught on India was most congenial for the simple reason that British Indian soldiers were fighting on foreign fronts; very little army was left for the home front. In circumstances like these, an attack on India could have been a great success.<sup>80</sup> Qusuri visited the centres of Haji Turangzai and Mullah Sahib of Babara. He sent envoys to Swat, Amb, Chitral and Chieftains of other places. He prepared a plan of making attacks on Razmak, Parachinar, Kohat, Dara, Thal and Peshawar. Mawlana Bashir was sent to Kabul to meet Amir Habibullah and seek his help and wise counsel. Meanwhile, Qusuri and Turangzai attacked the fronts at Gandab, Michini and Shabqadar. Mullah Sahib of Babara attacked the post near his hometown. These insurrections were a source of great trouble for the British. Mawlana Bashir's mission was not successful. The Amir was not willing to meet him in public. He summoned Bashir at midnight to his palace and after some casual conversation bade him goodbye. Sardar Nasrullah Khan, brother of the Amir, who had a soft corner for the Indian freedom fighters apologized for the behaviour of the Amir, gave him Rs. 12 or 15

thousand and some weapons. When the British realized that the tribesmen were being organized, they carried out a propaganda that it was not lawful to make Jihad without an Amir.<sup>81</sup>

When the Bolsheviks turned tables on the czars, it was hoped that Soviet Russia would withdraw from the war resulting in the victory of Germany which would crush the allied forces stationed at France. However, as things turned out then, it was not possible. When the U.S.A. entered into the war with her fresh 86000 troops<sup>82</sup>, a decisive blow was meted out to Germany. She could not sustain the onslaught of Britain, France, Japan and the U.S.A. taken together. Tribal chiefs initiated moves for a truce with Sir George Rooskeple, the commissioner of N.W.F.P. The latter proposed that Qusuri should personally meet him at Peshawar. The fictitious name of Qusuri was Sulaiman. Invitation was sent to Sulaiman, negotiations ensued. Sulaiman refused Rooskeple's offers of employment which included the Principalship of Islamia College Peshawar. Qusuri had given liberal financial help to Mawlana Sindhi. For instance, when Dr. Khushi Muhammad alias Mirza Muhammad 'Ali was being sent to Russia as an envoy of the interim government, Sindhi borrowed money from Qusuri who obtained two months salary in advance

and gave it to Sindhi for the expenses of the Mirza's journey to Russia.<sup>83</sup> Muhammad 'Ali Qusuri died of heart attack on 12 January, 1956.<sup>84</sup>

The activities of these freedom fighters were geared against Britain and in support of the Ottoman empire and Germany. The Indian Muslims believed it was their religious duty to come to the help of the sublime Porte, the caliph of Islam, who was in the middle of the war. The relationship and sympathies of the Indian Muslims with Turkey intensified when the former realized that Muslim rule in India could not be revived. Furthermore, a decade before the world war, Britain had followed a policy which was not conducive to the freedom of Muslim countries. Furthermore, the Ulama of Deoband believed that Britain was pressurizing other Islamic countries in an effort to strengthen her hold on India. It had become almost an article of faith with the divines of Deoband that the freedom of India would contribute to the emancipation of other Islamic countries. If this were the case, then the sooner the British were expelled the better it would be for other Islamic countries. If Britain's designs vis-a-vis other Muslim countries were nefarious and if she was bent upon capturing these countries, the Ulama argued, what then was the sense in showing loyalty to Britain in the



war. It was because of these reasons that the Indian Muslims particularly those who towed the policies of the Deoband school of thought joined hands with Germany, the ally of Turkey, and the adversary of Britain.<sup>85</sup>

## X

A few words are on order on the situation of Germany around the first world war. As compared to other European nations, Germany awoke from the slumber of indifference and lethargy rather relatively late. When Bismarck appeared on the firmament in 1871 to unify Germans as a nation, Britain had already fully established herself in India. Between 1871 and 1914, Germany made a fast and unprecedented progress. She even surpassed Britain and France economically and militarily. She desired to play a role in the world affairs and longed for world leadership or policemanship. The blue Aryan blood which ran in the veins of the Germans had made them restless. However, other vultures in the arena such as Russia, America, Britain and France would not let Germany realize her dream of world leadership. It was the desire of acquiring this role which dragged Germany into the first world war. However, the result of the war was disastrous for Germany. As a consequence of the war, the Kingship of

Germany came to an end and Caesar William II was forced to live in exile in the Netherlands.<sup>86</sup>

Whatever the outcome of the war, the Deoband school of thought represented by the Shaikhul Hind sensed an opportune time in it and became operative. This also reveals to us that the attitude of Deobandi ‘Ulama towards politics was characterized by practical considerations. For instance, during the first world war the British declared concessions to the Indians. The ‘Ulama fancied that these concessions would one day lead to the departure of British from India. Should that happen, the gap created by the withdrawal of British would be filled by none other than the Indian National Congress which was considered the largest political party. The co-operation between the Deobandi ‘Ulama and the Indian National Congress can be understood in this context.

Mahmood Hasan, the patron of Deoband, dispatched Mawlana Sindhi on a grand mission to Afghanistan. So much about the background to this mission. The next chapter will occupy us in the activities of Sindhi in Afghanistan.

**NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER ONE**

1. Peter Hardy, The Muslims of British India (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972) P. 22.
2. Husain Ahmad Madani, Naqsh-i-Hayat Vol. 2 (Karachi: Bait-al-Tawhid, n.d.) P. 409.
3. Abu Salman Shah <sup>a</sup>Jhānpuri, Tahrikat-i-Milli (Karachi: al-Makhzan Printers, n.d.) P. 10; I.H Qureshi, The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent (610-1947) A Brief Historical Analysis 2nd ed. (Karachi: Maaref, 1977), P. 204; Abul Hasan <sup>c</sup>Ali Nadvi, Tarikh-i-Dawat wa Azimat Vol. 5 (Karachi: Majlis Nashriyat-i-Islam, 1984), P. 315 Abdali was not a new-comer to India. According to Nadvi he had been born at Multan. Furthermore, prior to Shah Waliullah's invitation, he had visited India six times. Ibid P. 313.
4. Mawlana <sup>c</sup>Ubayd Allah Sindhi; Shah Waliullah awr Unki Siyasi Tahrik, (Lahore: al-Mahmood Academy n.d) P.27.
5. I.H. Qureshi, <sup>s</sup>Ulama in Politics, 2nd ed. (Karachi: Ma<sup>c</sup>arif Limited, 1974), P. 111.
6. Ibid. P. 113
7. About this period Lutfullah wrote in his autobiography, "The destiny of my sweet native land lies in the hands of 24 men, called the directors of the East India Company" Mushirul Haqq, Indian Muslim Attitude to the British in the Early Nineteenth Century: A Case Study of Shah <sup>c</sup>Abdul <sup>c</sup>Aziz, M.A. Thesis (Montreal: Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 1964) P. 78.
8. Zial-ul-Hasan Farooqi, The Deoband School and the Demand for Pakistan (Lahore: Progressive Books, n.d.) P. 2; <sup>s</sup>Ulama in Politics, P. 139; the Muslim Community, P. 220; John L. Esposito, Islam and Politics 2nd ed. (Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press, 1987) P. 85.
9. John L. Esposito, P. 85.

10. Mushirul Haqq, PP. 39-40; 'Aziz Ahmad, Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan (London: Oxford University Press, 1967) P. 19; Naqsh-i-Hayat P. 413.
11. Freeland Abbot, Islam and Pakistan, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1968) P. 88.
12. Ibid P. 106.
13. I.H. Qureshi, Muslim Community, P. 228: Nadvi puts the figure at 300 (see Sayyid 'Abdul Hasan 'Ali Nadvi, Jab Iman Ki Bahar Ayi (Karachi: Majlis Nashriyat-i-Islam, 1982) P. 253.
14. W.W. Hunter, The Indian Musalmans: Are they Bound in Conscience to rebel Against the Queen? (Lahore: Premier Book House, 1974) P. 14.
15. I.H. Qureshi, 'Ulama in Politics P. 157.
16. Mawlana 'Abdullah Sadiqpurī son of Mawlana Wilayat 'Ali (d. 1852) became the Amir of the Mujahidin in 1862. He remained the Amir for 42 long years i.e. from 1862 to 1902. He assumed the office of headship at Malka situated at a distance of 35 miles from Sithana, the first headquarter of the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid. Malka was the property of the Sayyids of Sithana after the destruction of which the mujahidin shifted to Malka. In the battle of Ambeyla fought in 1863, Malka was also demolished (Masud Alam Nadvi, Hindustan Ki Pahli Islami Tahrik, (Lahore: Idara Matbuat-i-Sulaimani, 1979), PP. 78-79.
17. According to Y.B. Mathur, the cause of Nimatullah's murder was that he had entered into an agreement with the British whereby Nimatullah would not allow any anti-British activity in his Jurisdiction and would try to close the Chamarkand Colony. This gesture was appreciated by the British who granted a small allowance for his maintenance. This affair led to the complete rupture between smast and chamarkand. Plots were hatched to murder Nimatullah by Fazal Ilahi, who was now the Amir of Chamarkand (Y.B.

- Mathur, *Growth of Muslim Politics in India* P. 26). I.H. Qureshi maintains that Nimatullah had changed the policy and arrived at some kind of understanding with the British perhaps because he thought any warfare with the British was futile (I.H. Qureshi; Ulama in Politics P. 165).
18. Mihr, Sarguzasht-i-mujahidin, 1st ed. (Lahore: Kitab Manzil, 1956) PP. 499-510. <sup>c</sup>Abdur Rashid was one of those young students from Lahore who had settled at smast en route to Kabul from where he was supposed to go to Turkey and fight on behalf of the Caliph of Islam. In Kabul, he was imprisoned by Amir Habibullah. When he was released, Maulvi Bashir took him to Chamarkand. (Ibid. P. 484).
  19. Bashir opened a network of mujahid centres which would function under the umbrella of the smast centre (founded by <sup>c</sup>Abdul Karim when he took over the headship at the death of Mawlana <sup>c</sup>Abdullah C/f I.H. Qureshi <sup>c</sup>Ulama in Politics P. 165). One such centre was established by Bashir and Maulvi Muhammad Hasan at Makin, a Mahsud village in South Waziristan. However, the Makin centre was not a success and Bashir returned to Chamarkand in 1921. (Mathur, Y.B. P. 24). Similarly, all other centres failed except that of Chamarkand which had been established during the Amarat (headship) of Nimatullah. One of the causes of the success of Chamarkand was its proximity with Afghanistan.
  20. I.H. Qureshi, Ulama in Politics P. 245.
  21. Zafar Hasan Aibak, Khatirat (Aap Biti) Ed. Dr. Ghulam Husain Zulfikar, (Lahore: Sang-i-meel publications, 1990), P. 13.
  22. <sup>c</sup>Abdul Hamid, Muslim Separatism (Lahore: Oxford University Press, 1971), P. 117.
  23. Mawlana <sup>c</sup>Abdullah Laghari, Mawlana <sup>c</sup>Ubayd Allah Sindhi Ki Sarguzasht-i-Kabul (Islamabad: National Institute for Research, History and Culture, 1980), P. 59.

24. Mian 'Abdul Bari was the president of the students who had migrated from Lahore to Kabul in February 1915. He was the translator of Mawlana 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi during the latter's parleys with the members of the Turkish-German mission which had reached Kabul one week prior to Sindhi's arrival in Kabul. When the interim government of India at Kabul decided to send a delegation to Turkey, 'Abdul Bari and Dr. Shujullah were chosen for this task. Mawlana Sindhi borrowed 100 pounds from Mawlana Bashir for this purpose. The delegation left Kabul for Turkey via Iran where the two men were arrested by the British. They were taken to Lahore and put in custody. After having made some queries on them as regards the Interim government, they were released. 'Abdul Bari became later the member of the constituent Assembly of Pakistan (Ghulam Rasul Mihr, Sarguzasht-i-Mujahidin, P. 652).
25. Zafar Hasan Aibak (d. 1993) was one of the most able students of Government College Lahore. He was specially good at Maths. He reached Kabul via smast. At Kabul he was a tutor of Zahir Shah, the son of Nadir Shah. For this reason, he had occasion to develop good personal relations with the family of Nadir Shah popularly known as the Sardar Sipahsalar. Aibak participated in the third Anglo-Afghan war of 1919. He fought in the company of Nadir Khan at the front of Thal. Aibak put his knowledge of Maths into good use in the war. He would first determine the distance and then shoot a shell from a canon from a specific angle. Consequently, Nadir Khan became victorious at Thal thanks to the able lieutenantship of Aibak. Sindhi says that the achievements of Aibak at the battle of Thal were very much appreciated. In recognition to the services of Aibak, the Afghan Government fixed an honorarium for Aibak. When Sindhi left Afghanistan, Zafar Hasan accompanied him to Russia. From there, Aibak went to Turkey where he studied at the military college and was given a good post in the Turkish army. He was also a professor of English at the military college. Aibak married a Turkish lady and obtained Turkish nationality. In 1949, he visited Pakistan for two or three months. (C/f Ghulam Rasul Mihr, Sarguzash-i-Mujahidin PP. 656-658).

26. A brief account of these students could be seen in Mir Muhammad Sharif Pakrai Hukumat-i-Muwaqqat Hind Dar Kabul, (Kabul: Matba' a-i-Dawlati, 1368 A.H.) PP. 99-100. See also Zafar Hasan Abak Khatirat (Aap Biti) (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 1992) P.14.
27. Mir Muhammad Sharif Pakrai, P. 101.
28. Y.B. Mathur, Growth of Muslim Politics in India. P.22.
29. Mawlana 'Abdullah Laghari, P. 103.
30. The real name of Haji Turangzai was Fazal Wahid. He was the son of Faiz Ahmad Haji Khel (Y.B. Mathur, P. 21). He was born at Turangzai, a town situated at district Charsadda. In accordance with family tradition, Turangzai received Persian and Arabic education. However, Turangzai was more of a Mujahid than a scholar. He showed allegiance at the hands of mullah Najmuddin alias Hade Mullah who appointed him his Khalifa-i-Majaz (authorized Caliph). The function of the Khalifa-i-Majaz is to initiate people into one's sufi order on behalf of his Pir or Murshid. Turangzai spearheaded his reform movement in 1910 at district Peshawar which included Mardan also at that time. He would settle the disputes of the pathans in the public Jargas instituted by him. These Jargas became so popular that people no longer needed to take their cases of murder and other cases to British courts. Besides, he raised his voice against the ruinous customs prevalent among the pathans such as extravagance shown on occasions of marriages and funerals. Furthermore, Turangzai established more than 70 Islamic Schools. Mawlana Saifur Rahman, who had emigrated from Delhi to Peshawar on the suggestion of the Shaikhul Hind, had sent up a branch of the Hizbullah, the party of Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad, another great patron of the insurrectionist activities in the tribal area, at Peshawar. Turangzai was elected the head of this branch. In 1913, Turangzai was arrested. However, the British Government released him soon apprehensive as she was of the repercussions of this arrest. However, the British officials repented on their decision of releasing him, for, they could not apprehend him the second time. In 1915, he migrated to

the tribal area. During the next 20 years, he kept the British busy in several encounters and numerous fronts such as Bunir, Shabqadar, Daka, Mechini, Oghli and Sudham. When he was 80 years old the British bribed a close acquaintance of Turangzai who poisoned his leather socks. Because of this, his body became poisoned and he was unable to walk. In 1937, at the ripe age of 81, Turangzai died and was buried in the courtyard of a mosque at Ghaziabad as he had made his will. (C/f Abu Salman Shahjihan Puri, (Ed), Tahrik-i-Nazm-i-Jamaat Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad (Lahore: Nazirsons Publishers, 1977) PP. 273-276.

Haji Turangzai was in close contact with Mawlana 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi during the latter's stay at Kabul (C/f 'Aziz Javed, Haji Sahib Turangzai P. 94). Turangzai is reported to have played an important role in the third Afghan war (C/f Erlend Jansson, India, Pakistan or Pukhtunistan (Uppsala: Almaquist and Wiksell International), P. 61. He was dubbed as the stormy patrol of the Peshawar district border (C/f Y.B. Mathur, P. 21).

31. It is an irony of fate that all the Indian Muslims were not united in their tilt towards Germany. For example, the <sup>s</sup>Ulama of Deoband whose approach to politics was romantic and whose ideal was pan-Islamism (see Muhammad Sarwar, Kabul mein Sat Sal) were in the front line of sympathizers towards Germany. On the other hand, the landed aristocracy was on the side of Britain and the Allies in their struggle against Germany and Austria (see Dr. M.R. Hassan, Indian Politics and the British Right 1914-1922 (Karachi: Awami Fikri Mahaz, 1986), P. 18. Even Mahatma Gandhi was loyal to Britain in the first world war. He was convinced that after the war, Britain would grant freedom to India. But he was on the wrong track. Instead of granting freedom to India, the British, when they came out victorious in the war, introduced in 1919 the Rowlatt Act which was intended to stifle every sort of political activity (see Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, Freedom At Midnight (new Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, Pvt 1976) P. 47, (also see Erlend Jansson, P. 217).
32. Ghulam Rasul Mihr, Sarguzasht-i-Mujahidin, P. 522.



33. Ibid. P. 488.
34. Ibid. P. 489.
35. Before 1911, Calcutta was the Capital of British India (see John Patrick Haithcox, Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy 1920-1939 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, New Jersey 1971), P. 28.
36. Mim Kamal O.K., Tahrik-i-Khilafat 1919-1924, 1st ed. (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy 1991), P. 39.
37. I.H. Qureshi, Ulama in Politics, P. 230. A medical mission was sent to Turkey in 1912 under the leadership of Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari. The mission was intended to look after the wounded of the Balkan war. Much enthusiasm was witnessed in India around this time. For instance, a certain 'Abdur Rahman from Peshawar auctioned his coat in order to make enough money to enable him to go to Turkey in the delegation of Dr. Ansari (see Zafar Hasan Aibak, Ap Biti V.I. P. 242). 'Abdur Rahman was the son of Haji Samdani of Peshawar. He adopted the nationality of Turkey and was later appointed by Ata Turk as the ambassador of Turkey to Kabul. 'Abdur Rahman was a close friend of Mawlana Sindhi. (Ibid. P. 245) The medical mission of Dr. Ansari consisted of 24 men. Of these, five were doctors and the remaining nineteen were general helpers whose duty was to lift the wounded from the battlefield and prepare bandages for them. The details of these people could be found in (Mian Akbar Shah, Azadi ki Talash, Urdu translation, Islamabad: Qawmi Idara Barai Tahqiq-o-Thaqafat, 1989), PP. 405.
38. Aibak, P. 153.
39. Ibid., P. 150
40. Madani, Naqsh-i-Hayat, P. 631.
41. Ibid., P. 631; Qureshi, Ulama in Politics, P. 219.

42. New Encyclopedia Britannica V. 7. Micropaedia 15th ed. P. 206.
43. Mim Kamal, O.K., P. 62.
44. Khawaja Jamil Ahmad, Angriz Awr Musلمان 1st ed. (Karachi: Urdu Academy Sindh, 1974), P. 224.
45. Ali Khan Mahsood, Germanyyan Bya Yaw Shol (n.d. n.p) P. 102.
46. Qureshi, Ulama in Politics, P. 230.
47. Ali Khan Mahsood, P. 101.
48. This view was cherished by many Indian revolutionaries. For instance, 'Abdur Rabb Barq (1875-1960) expressed this idea in the following Jargon "India and India alone is the prop and mainstay of the first capitalistic and Imperialistic Empire in the world; and when that prop is removed from under that Empire, the whole structure would fall down and scatter to pieces like a house of cards". (see M.A., Persits, Revolutionaries of India in Soviet Russia (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1983), P. 58.
49. Har Dayal was a Brahman of Delhi. He received his early education at an American school at Lahore. Because of his brilliance he was sent to Cambridge for higher studies on a Government Scholarship. In the last year of his studies he turned down the scholarship on the plea that the British system of education was spoiling the Indian youth. In 1908, he returned to India and busied himself in the anti-British activities. In 1912 he travelled to San Francisco in order to live there with Indian emigrants. There he founded the ghadar party which had accepted the responsibility of throwing bomb on Lord Harding. With the help of the Germans, he founded a Journal called the ghadar which was published in three languages i.e. English, Urdu and Gur Makhī. In 1914, he was arrested by the American Government. However, he managed to escape to Europe and reached Berlin where he became the leader of the Indian

revolutionaries. At Berlin, he came into contact with the German Government and her allies. However the Germans did not trust him. At this he published a pamphlet called "44 months in Germany" condemning the Germans. Then after much meandering he reached again the U.S.A. where he died in 1939 (see Mian Akbar Shah, PP. 407-408).

50. The formation of the ghadar party was geared to bringing together the scattered Indian revolutionary and patriotic organizations which had already raised their head in the U.S.A. and Canada. After Har Dayal's arrest in 1914, the leadership of the party went to Bhagwan Singh, with Barakatullah as his deputy. The ghadar party established its centres in many countries of the world such as U.S.A., Canada, Argentina, France, Britain, Germany, Sweden, China, Burma, Siam and the Philippines. (see M.A. Persits, P. 19).
51. 'Abdul 'Ali Arghandawi, British Imperialism and Afghanistan, struggle for Independence 1914-1921 (New Delhi. Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, (Pvt) Ltd. 1989) P. 117.
52. V.B . Karnik, M.N.Roy 2nd ed. (New Delhi: National Book Trust, 1992) P. 7.
53. Ibid.,
54. Ibid., P. 13
55. Ibid. P. 17.
56. Haithcox, P. 21.
57. Ibid., P. 21. It will be in the fitness of things to draw a brief similarity between M.N. Roy and Mawlana Sindhi. Both left India in August 1915 in search of green pastures as it were wherein they would be able to actualize their grand missions of unseating the British Imperialism. Both returned to India around the same time. This was the time when the left wing of the Indian National Congress had been defeated thus making the two revolutionaries less dangerous to Britain.

Both had developed international outlook by virtue of which the two revolutionaries could not establish their credentials and bonafides with their fellow-countrymen and co-religionists. However, these similarities end here. Whereas Roy was a committed Communist who had abandoned Communism during the end of his career and had adopted the doctrine of radical humanism, Mawlana Sindhi remained loyal to Islam. This is born out by the fact that a contemporary English writer, namely, W.C. Smith remarks about Sindhi that "his commitment to Islam was unswerving". (see W.C. Smith, Modern Islam in India and Pakistan) P. 252.

58. Laghari, P. 57.
59. I.II. Qureshi, Ulama in Politics, P. 245.
60. Khidr Humayun, P. 20.
61. I.II. Qureshi, P. 245.
62. Rais Ahmad Jafari, Awraq-i-gumgashta (n.d. n.p.), P.815.
63. I.H. Qureshi, P. 246.
64. Qazi Muhammad Adeel, Abbasi, Tahrik-i-Khilafat Lahore: Bustan-i-Adab, 1990) P. 64.
65. Mihr, Sarguzasht-i Mujahidin, P. 536.
66. Hugh Thomas, An Unfinished History of the World (London: Pan Books, 1989) P. 646.
67. From Tokyo, Barakatullah left for San Francisco to work for the ghadar party. In 1915, he arrived in Berlin at the invitation of Mahendra Pratap in whose company he proceeded to Afghanistan with a German mission under Hentig Niedermeyer. He was in Kabul from 1915 to 1919. (M.A. Persits, P. 19).
68. <sup>c</sup>Abdul <sup>c</sup>Ali Arghandawi, P. 117.

69. Y.B Mathur, P. 21.
70. Khidr Humayun, P. 22.
71. Ibid.
72. P.C. Bamford, Histories of the Non-Cooperation and Khilafat Movements (Delhi: K.K. Book Distributors (Reprint 1985), P. 125; Ulama in Politics, P.249.
73. I.H. Qureshi, The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent (610-1947). A Brief Historical Analysis 2nd ed. (Karachi: Maarif Printers, 1977) P. 298.
74. Abu Salman Shahjihanpuri, (ed) Tahrik-i-Nazam-i-Jamaat, P. 124.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid., P. 275.
77. Ghulam Rasul Mihr, Sarguzasht-i-Mujahidin, P. 532.
78. Madani, Naqsh-i-Hayat, P. 619.
79. Mihr, P. 575.
80. Ibid., P. 576.
81. Ibid., P. 579.
82. Ali Khan Mahsood, P. 95.
83. Mihr, P. 582.
84. Ibid., P. 581.
85. The soldiers of the Ottoman empire had been trained in Germany. (See, An Unfinished History of the World, P. 646).
86. Ali Khan Masood, PP. 135-136.

## CHAPTER TWO

### MAWLANA ʿUBAYD ALLAH SINDHI'S MISSION TO AFGHANISTAN

#### I

Mawlana ʿUbayd Allah Sindhi decided to leave for Afghanistan in April 1915. At the outset of his grand mission to Kabul, there were two issues which confronted him. One was the issue of money for the journey; the second was the question of secrecy i.e. how to hoodwink the all powerful British Intelligence Service. As for the first question, his mentor, the Shaikhul Hind obviously did not give him any amount. However, Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad<sup>1</sup> (1888-1958), who was in close contact with the mujahidin based in the tribal area and who had been closely monitoring the activities there<sup>2</sup>, naturally took keen interest in the journey of Mawlana Sindhi. Consequently, Azad contacted Haji ʿAbdullah Haroon with the intention of getting money from him for the expenses of Sindhi. He gave Rs. 5000 to Azad which were given to Sindhi.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, another close friend of Sindhi, namely, Shaikh ʿAbdur Rahim Sindhi, the elder brother of Mr. Kirplani,<sup>4</sup> a famous Indian nationalist, is said to have sold the ornaments of his wife and daughter for the sake of the Mawlana's journey.<sup>5</sup>

As regards the issue of secrecy, it was deemed advisable that the Mawlana should first go to Bahawalpur and Sindh and settle in the villages there as if he did not do anything at all. With this scheme of things, Sindhi left Delhi in the beginning of April 1915. At Delhi, he was seen off by Mawlana Muhammad 'Ali (1878-1931)<sup>6</sup>. First, he went to Bahawalpur and then to Sindh. The secret intelligence police chased him for three or four months, but they could not detect anything from him, thanks to the evasive and indifferent attitude of the Mawlana. One day he set out from Hyderabad in the company of Shaikh 'Abdur Rahim<sup>7</sup> who escorted Sindhi and his companions till the Afghan border. The journey from Hyderabad to the Afghan border was traversed partly by train, partly on camelback and partly on foot. On 15 August 1915, Sindhi stepped on the Afghan soil without any passport or visa and offered his evening prayers in the Afghan territory.<sup>8</sup> The place where Sindhi entered Afghanistan was called Sorabik.<sup>9</sup>

From Sorabik to Qandahar he travelled in the supervision or custody of Afghan officials. At Qandahar, he met two persons who had good relations with the governor of Qandahar Sardar Muhammad Yunus Khan. One of these two gentlemen had already met Sindhi while the latter was in Sindh. By virtue of these two

men, Sindhi received introductory letters from the governor in the names of Sardar Mahmood Beg Tarzi (1866-1935) and Sardar Nadir Khan (d. 1934). When Sindhi reached Ghazni, he informed Tarzi about his arrival.<sup>10</sup> A student of Tarzi, namely, 'Abdul Hadi Khan, who was the right hand man of Tarzi in the editorship of Sirajul-Akhbar was deputed to say welcome to Sindhi in Kabul. Thus after two months of travelling, Sindhi reached Kabul on 15 October 1915. It is a coincidence that exactly after seven years, that is, on 15 October, 1922, Sindhi and his entourage left Kabul for Soviet Russia.<sup>11</sup> Bamford's statement that Sindhi first visited the mujahid camp at the tribal area<sup>12</sup> and from there proceeded to Kabul is incorrect as it had been contradicted by a report of Mawlana Husain Ahmad Madani<sup>13</sup> (d. 1953), a colleague of Sindhi.

## II

Sindhi reached Kabul in October 1915, in the company of three men i.e. 'Abdullah Laghari, Fateh Muhammad and Muhammad 'Ali.<sup>14</sup> Prior to his departure from India, he held meetings with important Indian national figures such as Hakim Ajmal Khan<sup>15</sup> (1865-1927), Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari<sup>16</sup> (1880-1936), Mawlana Muhammad 'Ali Jawhar (1878-1931) and



Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958). These leaders appreciated the programme of Sindhi and accepted him as their representative. Secondly, at Kabul Sindhi found himself at home. Prior to his arrival in Kabul, his disciples and friends had created a congenial and friendly atmosphere for Sindhi at Kabul. For instance, Shaikh Muhammad Ibrahim who had done his M.A. in economics from Bombay University had been dispatched by Sindhi to Kabul to become a teacher at Habibiya school where he taught geography.<sup>17</sup> Ibrahim was the person with whom Sindhi came into contact in the beginning; it was he who enlightened Sindhi on the Afghan notables.<sup>18</sup> Alongwith Ibrahim, Sindhi had also sent his nephew 'Aziz Ahmad, the younger brother of Mawlana Ahmad 'Ali Lahori, the son-in-law of Sindhi. Similarly, Maulvi Muhammad 'Ali Qusuri, a wrangler of maths from Cambridge had been appointed as teacher at Habibiya school on the recommendation of Hafiz Ahmad Din, the headmaster at Habibiya school. Both these gentlemen were Indian. Shaikh Ibrahim had forged friendly relations with the notables of Kabul, particularly Muhammad Nadir Khan<sup>19</sup> (d. 1934), the Sardar Sipah Salar who later became King of Afghanistan. This friendship of Ibrahim with the members of the royal family proved very successful in

subsequent years. At Kabul, Sindhi, alongwith Ibrahim and Qusuri, lived in a house situated in a street called Kocha-i Hazrat in the famous Shor Bazar.<sup>20</sup> The Afghan government had fixed a daily allowance of two rupees per head for Sindhi and his associates. Qusuri claims that he had already been informed of Sindhi's departure for Kabul. He further states that he had paved that way for the Mawlana who stayed at Qusuri's house which became the centre of political discussions.<sup>21</sup> Through the good offices of Tarzi, Sindhi had a meeting with Sardar Inayatullah Khan, the Muin al-Sultanate (helper of the state), who was the elder son of Habibullah and the son-in-law of Tarzi. The prince invited Sindhi to a dinner one day and thus Sindhi's presence in Kabul became known to other Afghan Sardars.<sup>22</sup>

The emigree students from Lahore who had been imprisoned at Kabul by Amir Habibullah at the behest of the British were released after Sindhi's arrival. It appears that the release of these students who had made Hijrat to Kabul en route to Turkey was the first political activity of Sindhi at Kabul. These students were given in the patronage of Sindhi. They played an important role in the body politic and solidarity of Afghanistan.

**III**

Before proceeding further as regards the mission and activities of Mawlana Sindhi in Afghanistan, it will be in the fitness of things to point out here that Kabul had played an important role in the affairs of India from times immemorial. It has remained a safe haven for the inhabitants of India who have sought shelter there. In times of crisis, the people of India have turned to Afghanistan for help and inspiration. Since Mawlana Sindhi was a serious student of Islamic history as he himself claims, and since he had a deep sense of history, he quotes the following examples in order to prove the link, or the importance of that link, between Afghanistan and India. He maintains that when the Marathas dominated and plundered Delhi in the 18th century, the latter sought the help of Kabul and Qandahar to get rid of the Maratha domination. The second time, when the British captured Delhi in the beginning of the 19th century, the followers of Shah ‘Abdul ‘Aziz, the eldest son of Shah Waliullah, tried to resuscitate the link between Delhi and Kabul in the leadership of Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed and Shah Isma‘il Shaheed. Similarly, despite the fact that the Mughal rule had become very weak in its last days: nonetheless, the British could not dismantle it until they captured

Punjab and thus disconnected Delhi from Kabul.<sup>23</sup> So much about the significance of Kabul in the affairs of India.

#### IV

As mentioned earlier, Sindhi, once in Kabul, did not find himself in an alien soil. Apart from Ibrahim and Qusuri mentioned above, there was a sizeable number of Indians in Kabul, some of whom were people of his own ilk. Among such persons was one Haji ‘Abdur Razzaq who was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (Mizan al-Tahqiqat Shar‘iyah) of Afghanistan. ‘Abdur Razzaq was a graduate of Deoband and a student of Mawlana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi (d. 1905), the rector of Deoband from 1880 to 1905. In 1908, ‘Abdur Razzaq was the head of the royal madrasa at Kabul. He tried to mount anti-British operations on the frontier, but was prevented from doing so by Amir Habibullah. Till 1919, he led a campaign the purpose of which was to arouse the tribesmen along the frontier.<sup>24</sup> He had friendly relations with Nasrullah Khan (1874-1921) and other Afghan notables. Habibullah had given the portfolio of tribal affairs to Nasrullah Khan who was known for his anti-British posture. He had gathered around himself a group of Indians who were hostile to the British. ‘Abdur Razzaq was one of them.<sup>25</sup> He had helped Rahmat ‘Ali

Zakariya, one of the "run away" students from Lahore, to escape from the house arrest of Mirza Muhammad Husain, the Mustawfi al-Mamalik (Finance Minister), at Jalalabad and fled to Moscow.<sup>26</sup>

‘Abdur Razzaq wanted to arrange a meeting between Sindhi and Nasrullah Khan. However, Sindhi desired that this meeting should take place through the Mu‘in al-Sultanat, ‘Inayatullah Khan. Probably, the reason for this was that Sindhi had already discerned the mutual jealousies that existed between the various Afghan chiefs. He did not wish to harm his work because of these jealousies. For this reason, he gave due respect to the members of the royal family. In view of this consideration, Sindhi asked ‘Abdur Razzaq to arrange the meeting with Nasrullah Khan via ‘Inayatullah Khan. Sindhi wrote an application to Nasrullah Khan explaining the purpose of his visit. Simply put, this purpose was that Sindhi had visited Afghanistan as a representative of the Indian Muslims in an effort that the Afghan Monarch may be persuaded to invade India.<sup>27</sup> The meeting between Sindhi and Nasrullah Khan taking place as it did in privacy lasted for two hours. Nasrullah asked Sindhi to prepare a resume of the conversation which transpired between the two men. Sindhi wrote this in seven or eight pages. The manuscript was then handed over

to Shaikh Muhammad Ibrahim who polished the language and made some alterations in it. After the revision of Ibrahim, the manuscript written by Sindhi assumed the look of a proposal on behalf of all Indians as opposed to the proposal of Indian Muslims. The idea, perhaps, was to give a more democratic look to the demand of Sindhi. This piece of writing was sent to Nasrullah Khan via Mahmood Beg Tarzi and Inayatullah Khan. Given the importance of the document, Nasrullah decided to send it to his brother Amir Habibullah Siraj al-Millat wa al-Din (the Light of Nation and Religion) as he was called.<sup>28</sup>

## V

One day in the first week of December, 1915, the Naib al-Sultani (Deputy of the State) invited Sindhi to his palace Zain al-Imara. Amir Habibullah also came there in the afternoon. He had a private meeting with Sindhi and conversed with him for half an hour. Habibullah studied thoroughly the document of Sindhi. He uttered a few words of appreciation about the manuscript of Sindhi and gave verbal instructions to Sindhi to work in cooperation with the Hindus. It is unfortunate that this document is not extant today. However, it could be surmised that the document dealt with the point of view of the Deobandi Ulama which was to revive the

fortunes of Islam in India and recapture the past glory for Muslims as was their lot prior to the advent of the British dispensation. This was the grand mission for which the Shaikhul Hind had dispatched him to Kabul. However, Sindhi had not been given any definite programme or course of action. It appears that the Sheikul Hind had left the matter to the political sagacity and common sense of Sindhi. The only way of actualizing the objective of Sindhi was to pit Afghanistan against British India. However, the Afghan Amir was an ally of Britain and her pensioner. He was an obstacle in the way of the freedom of Afghanistan. The foreign policy of Afghanistan was tied to the apron strings of Great Britain. For these reasons, it was not possible to persuade Amir Habibullah on a fight with the British. Nevertheless, Sindhi devised an idea which would entice the Afghan King at least to give him audience. The proposal of Sindhi was that after the freedom of India through the invasion of Afghanistan, an Afghan prince would be seated on the throne of Delhi as a constitutional Monarch. With the approval of the Amir, this prince would be Amanullah Khan (d. 1960), the Mu<sup>h</sup>in al-Dawlah. A constitutional Kingship would ensue in Afghanistan. Furthermore, an alliance of unity would be forged between India and Afghanistan through a treaty.<sup>29</sup> This proposal of

Sindhi was fantastic but it was not real as it was impossible to accomplish in the circumstances prevailing then.

## VI

Mawlana Sindhi reached Afghanistan in the era of Amir Habibullah (1872-1919). Born in Tashqand in the former Russian Turkistan,<sup>30</sup> Habibullah had peacefully taken over the kingship of Afghanistan in October 1901 when his father Amir ʿAbdur Rahman (r. 1880-1901), the founder of modern Afghanistan,<sup>31</sup> had died of gout after a long and ruthless rule of 21 years.<sup>32</sup> From the outset, Habibullah was under pressure from the British. He wrote to Lord Curzon on October 10, 1901 that he would continue the policies of his father.<sup>33</sup> However, Curzon “one of the white man’s burden”<sup>34</sup> replied that the treaties made with ʿAbdur Rahman were of a personal nature and they needed revision. Habibullah adopted a tough attitude and rejected two invitations to visit British India for negotiations. Instead, he sent his eldest son Inayatullah Khan to Calcutta in December 1904 so that he could enter into a dialogue with Lord Curzon. The latter also sent his representative Louis Danes to Kabul. Dane stayed at Kabul for four months and ultimately an agreement was signed on 21 March, 1905. By virtue of this agreement, the previous treaties as well as the aid of the



Amir were restored. He also received the arrears of the preceding months when his aid had been suspended. However, Habibullah rejected the proposal of the British to construct a railway line in Afghanistan connecting that country with India.<sup>35</sup>

Sindhi appreciated the reforms of Habibullah and said that had he not been installed the king of Afghanistan after the death of his father, she would not have witnessed the progress and development which fell in her laps in the reign of Habibullah.<sup>36</sup> Habibullah introduced in his country things of modern vintage such as electricity, telephones, water pipes, automobiles and western medical methods.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, he introduced European games such as foot ball, hockey, cricket, tennis, golf and badminton.<sup>38</sup> A pumping station was constructed to supply water to Kabul.<sup>39</sup> A state council was also established to deal with the tribal affairs.<sup>40</sup> Habibullah also established two schools and two hospitals on modern lines. The two schools were Habibiya and Harbiya (military school) and the two hospitals were mulki (civil) and Nizami. The Habibiya school had been founded in 1903. It was modeled after the Aligarh college in India. In 1915, the headmaster of Habibia school was Hafiz Ahmad Din who was probably from Sargodha.<sup>41</sup> In 1923 Amanullah made this college the fourth

foreign language high school with English as the medium of instruction.<sup>42</sup> On the average there were 50-270 students at Habibiya school. On the other hand, in the madrassa Harbiya founded in 1909, there were initially 150 students. During the last days of the reign of Amir Habibullah, the number of students at Harbiya school had reached 900.<sup>43</sup> The Harbiya School was run by Turkish officials. A certain Khairi Beg who was a Turkish doctor was its headmaster.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, the incharge of the mulki hospital was a Turkish doctor. On the other hand, the Nizami hospital was under the charge of an Indian doctor, namely, Allah Jawaya Khan. The Amir had also constructed two magnificent buildings in which a few European engineers had also been engaged.

A Machine Khana (Engine House) i.e. (a factory where weapons and gunpowder were manufactured and coins minted) had been built by Amir 'Abdur Rahman, wherein Afghan, Turkish and Indians worked. Habibullah purchased electric equipments for it and thenceforth the factory started functioning on electricity. Similarly in order to produce electricity, a power station was installed at Jabal-al-Siraj (the mountain of Light). Furthermore, Habibullah started the only newspaper of Afghanistan, namely, Siraj al- Akhbar (The torch of newspapers). The Siraj al-Akhbar

was a vehicle or mouthpiece for nationalistic pan-Islamist and anti-imperialistic sentiments. The editorship of this newspaper was handed over to Tarzi, who was a man of letters among other things. In the printing press of the Siraj al-Akhbar, there were Indian and Egyptian workers. Sindhi was very much impressed by the reformist outlook and ideas of Tarzi. He maintains that the role played by "this man of God" in the reformation and modernization of Afghanistan is without a peer.<sup>45</sup>

Sardar Mahmood Tarzi (1866-1935) was the son of Sardar Ghulam Muhammad Tarzi, a prominent Afghan poet. Amir 'Abdur Rahman had exiled Tarzi and his father to the Ottoman empire where they lived for about twenty years. He settled in Damascus and married there. He would often visit Constantinople which exposed him to the cross currents of European culture and institutions. It was there that he came under the spell of the Ottoman nationalist movement and the pan-Islamic views of Sayyid Jamal-al-Din Afghani<sup>46</sup> (1838-1898). Tarzi was the first foreign minister of Afghanistan.<sup>47</sup> One of his daughters had been married to the crown prince Inayatullah Khan, whereas the other, namely, Surayya who later became the queen was married to Amanullah Khan (1892-1960). Tarzi was an admirer of Turkish culture and

ways of life for the simple reason that he had spent a significant portion of his life in the Ottoman empire. On the other hand, Sardar Nadir Khan was given to Indian things and ways of life.

Nadir Khan was the elder son of Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan who was among the musahiban-i Khas (the special courtiers). There were two persons in the court of Habibullah who carried this title. Apart from Yusuf Khan, the other person was Sardar Muhammad Asif Khan. Both these gentlemen were the nephews of Sardar Itimad al-Dawlah (the trustee of the state) ‘Abdul Quddus Khan who was the Prime Minister during the days of ‘Abdur Rahman.<sup>48</sup> He was the uncle of the musahiban-i Khas<sup>49</sup> and the head of the Muhammadzi tribe to which the royal family of Afghanistan belonged. During the reign of Habibullah, ‘Abdul Quddus retired from Government Service and received his pension. Because of his old age, Habibullah kept him in great esteem. He had been exempted from visiting Salam Khana (the palace of Habibullah) on the day of ‘Eid. On the contrary, Habibullah would visit him on the same day.

The children of Yusuf Khan and Asif Khan were also included among the musahiban-i Khas. They were Nadir Khan, Hashim Khan, Shah Wali Khan,<sup>50</sup> ‘Aziz Khan and Shah Mahmud

Khan.<sup>51</sup> In all, they were ten brothers and cousins, whose duty it was to be present in the court of Habibullah. Most of the important posts of the Government were in the hands of the progeny of the special courtiers. They were also responsible for crowning the reforms of Habibullah with success. According to Mawlana Sindhi, the credit for the success of the special courtiers went to Nadir Khan, the benefactor and patron of the Indians based in Kabul.<sup>52</sup>

A certain political hierarchy and division of labour existed at Kabul. The Amir, his younger brother, and two sons, all participated in the affairs of the government. For example, the governors of the provinces were appointed by the Amir himself. The executives of the provinces who were subordinate to the provincial governors were appointed by the Naib al- Sultant, who functioned like the minister for interior. The appointment of Chief Justice for the purpose of dispensing Justice in accordance with Islamic law was the prerogative of the Crown Prince, the Mu<sup>c</sup>in al- Sultant who was also the minister of education and the president of Nazaratul Ma<sup>c</sup>arif (the syndicate). The two school Habibiya and Harbiya were under him.<sup>53</sup> The secretary of the syndicate was called the Director of Public instruction (D.P.I.). However, Qusuri says that the D.P.I. was so powerless that he could not even

purchase a rim of paper. The syndicate was a whimsical body which had no specific number of members. Whoever was liked by the Mu<sup>ʿ</sup>in al-Sultanat would be invited to it and appointed a member.<sup>54</sup> Similarly, enlisting people in the army according to the principle of Hasht Nafari came under the Jurisdiction of the Muin al-Dawlah. Through this principle, one man from among eight had to be enlisted in the army through a toss. The person thus selected would serve for a definite term. It was possible that a person after completing his term might join the army on behalf of another person in exchange for a certain amount of money. Such persons were called ʿIwaz. They were like mercenaries who had made army their profession. Some of them might stay in the army till they got very old.<sup>55</sup>

In addition to this hierarchy and division of labour, there were three distinct political groups in Afghanistan. The first group consisted of the Amir himself and his elder son, Inayatullah Khan, the crown prince. He was a man of feeble character and like his father known for his pro-British stand. Initially, so the story goes, Habibullah had appointed Nasrullah as Crown Prince but later he was pressurized by the British to appoint Inayatullah as his heir-apparent.

The second group was that of Nasrullah (1874-1921) who had gathered around himself anti-British elements. He was a conservative person and was known for his nationalist and pan-Islamic sentiments. He was looked upon as a rival of the Crown Prince. A man of medium height, thick body, bright eyes, wide forehead and a serious face, he bespoke determination. The affairs of the tribal areas had been assigned to him. Whenever, the Amir would like to pressurize the British on any issue, he would use Nasrullah on such occasions.

The third political group or alliance was that of Amanullah and his clique. The progressive and nationalist Afghans led by Tarzi and Nadir Khan belonged to the band of Amanullah. This group stood for the introduction of a constitutional Government in Afghanistan and the total manumission of that country from the indirect British yoke. Both the groups of Amanullah and his uncle Nasrullah constituted what was called the "war party" which desired that Afghanistan should enter the first world war on the side of Germany. It is curious to note that the majority of the Afghans belonged to this "war party". Since Germany was an ally of Turkey, the last bastion of the Islamic caliphate, aiding that country was in consonance with the pan-Islamic aspirations of the

nationalist Afghans. The pan-Islamic movement in Afghanistan had been triggered by the defeat of the Ottomans in 1911 at the hands of Italy and by the Balkan states in 1912. The British ambassador in Kabul officially declared that Britain was neutral in the Balkan war, and the Amir was also briefed on the course of the war. But Afghan nationalist leaders such as Tarzi did not accept Britain's neutrality as genuine.<sup>56</sup>

After having discussed some dimensions of the Afghan political hierarchy and affiliations, it will be appropriate at this juncture to say a few words on the nature of the Afghan Government itself as well as its functionaries. Qusuri has portrayed a very grim picture of Habibullah's Afghanistan. He says that politically Afghanistan was dead. Amir Habibullah was an autocratic king and dictator. His spoken words constituted law. For this reason, he looked askance at every political activity. Getting involved in any action that had a semblance of politics was tantamount to inviting death. The entire budget of the Amir owed itself to the money which came from the British. The personal expenditure of the king was also met by the aid received from the British. Almost all the big Afghan officers received their salaries from the British. The network of the British conspiracies had



turned Afghanistan into a disabled organ. Trusting anybody was considered great stupidity. I discovered that Nasrullah and his party was severely hostile to the British. But due to the fear of his brother, he could not dare to meet openly with those people who were viewed as anti-British. The Muin at-Sultant was a shrewd young man. But because of the fear of his father, he kept aloof from political movements.<sup>57</sup>

## VII

Prior to getting entangled in the first world war, Turkey's war minister Anwar Pasha (1881-1922) proposed to Germany, her ally, that she should participate in the delegation which Turkey intended to send to Afghanistan in an effort to harmonize that country with the central political forces of India. After having struck this diplomatic tactical note, Turkey plunged into the war. Anwar Pasha reported that the Afghan Monarch had sent him an envoy asking him whether the Amir should attack Britain or Russia. The Turkish war minister sensed a sympathy from this message of the Amir. He gathered from this that Habibullah was looking forward for the support of the central powers i.e. Germany, Austria, Hungary, the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria, and that he was willing to invade India. It was this equivocal and

hypocritical reply of Habibullah which prompted the dispatch of a Turkish-German mission to Afghanistan.<sup>58</sup>

The Indian-Turkish-German mission reached Kabul via Iran on 2 October, 1915. With the arrival of this mission, the position of Habibullah became very embarrassing. The arrival of the mission was coeval with the arrival of Sindhi in Qandahar. Habibullah became under the pressure of the so called "war party" to enter into the war. Sultan 'Abdul Hamid, the nominal head of the Islamic world had issued a fatwa of Jihad against the infidel Allies. The Turkish press gave a picture of the German Kaiser in which the latter wore Arab dress and was dubbed "Hajji Wilhelm." Habibullah insisted that a call for Jihad was invalid unless it was issued inside Afghanistan by the religious leaders of Afghanistan.<sup>60</sup>

The Turkish-German mission was headed by Raja Mahendra Pratap, a landlord of Hathrus (Banaras). Before the war broke out, Pratap had left India for a tour of Europe. He came to Berlin to be elected chairman of the Indian revolutionary committee.<sup>61</sup> Pratap was accompanied by Barakatullah Bhopali. Barakatullah had worked in Japan for the propagation of Islam. From there he went to U.S.A. and joined the ghadar party founded by a certain Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, the hero of the Lahore Conspiracy case of

1915-16.<sup>62</sup> The Turkish representative was Kazim Beg, the first lieutenant who was later promoted to the rank of captain. The German delegate was von Hentig whereas the Austrian representative was Neidermeyer. In all, there were 23 members of the mission. The purpose of this mission was to instigate Habibullah against the British and goad him to make preparations for an onslaught on India. From the German perspective, an invasion of India by Afghanistan was very important, for, by doing so, a significant portion of the British army would be occupied in India quelling indigenous rebellion rather than fighting on the European fronts. Should this happen, it was hoped, the Turkish and German forces would be left free to fight more successfully with the Russian forces. Finally, in the event of a war between Afghanistan and India, India would be liberated from the British.<sup>63</sup>

According to Louis Dupree, the negotiations between Habibullah and the Turkish German mission became complicated, for, the mission had two leaders, namely, captain Oskar von Niedermeyer and lieutenant Werner Otto Von Hentig, with Kazim Bey as the representative of the Ottoman Empire. It is surprising that Dupree does not mention the name of Pratap. As regards the attitude of Habibullah towards the members of the mission and his

dealing with them, Dupree states, "By Judicious procrastination, Habibullah forced the mission to agree to a ludicrous treaty, under which the Germans agreed to give the Afghans 100,000 rifles, 300 cannons, and £ 20 million in gold. The mission's immediate goal, an Afghan attack, in concert with tribal elements in British India, collapsed. Habibullah hinted he would attack India but only after the victorious German and Turk armies entered Afghanistan to lead the assault".<sup>64</sup> Meanwhile, Habibullah, in order to take benefit from the presence of the mission, initiated correspondence with British India. He demanded that in exchange for his holding the central powers at bay, the British should relinquish their control over Afghanistan's foreign affairs. The anti-British group in the court of Habibullah wanted the king to resort to action i.e. Jihad, instead of letter-writing.<sup>65</sup>

However, by virtue of the dane treaty concluded between Habibullah and the British in 1905, Habibullah was bound to remain neutral in the war. The viceroy had informed Habibullah about the outbreak of the first world war on 8 August 1914 in the following words, "I desire to inform your majesty that a state of war exists in Europe. Austro-Hungary has declared war on Serbia, and Germany has begun hostilities with France and Russia. As a

result, war has broken out between Germany and Great Britain, whose interests are virtually connected with those of France. Under the terms of our letter to the late Amir dated 18 July, 1880, which was reaffirmed by your Majesty in the Dane treaty of 1905, you agreed to follow unreservedly the advice of the British Government in regard to your external relations. In accordance with this agreement, I now advise your Majesty to remain neutral for the present and to maintain absolute neutrality of Afghanistan, to take special precautions to preserve order on both your frontiers".<sup>66</sup>

Amir Habibullah maintained this neutrality till his mysterious murder in 1919. As a matter of fact, it won't be amiss to point out that the Amir paid for his life in consequence of his pro-British policies. However, superficially he kept a flair of sympathy with the Turkish-German mission particularly its Muslim members. As a case in point, as a first step to appease the Indian revolutionaries, he dismissed the British officials employed at the Engine House. The British reacted promptly. They contacted a great Pir of Afghanistan who was influential in his own country. Even the Amir was his disciple. This "holy man" was brought from Makkah to Kabul so that he could discuss the matter of Afghanistan's invasion of India with the Amir. When the Amir

mentioned the proposed project before the Pir, he remarked, "Wait, I will make Istikhara (a kind of prayer in which a person seeks the guidance of God when he is confronted by an enigmatic situation) for three days and then let you know about its outcome".<sup>67</sup> On the fourth day, the Pir said to the Amir that an invasion of India would be fatal for Afghanistan. It is said that the British paid an amount of Rs. 50 Lakhs to the Pir for this "service" and Rs. 8 crore to Amir Habibullah. Qusuri does not mention the name of this pir. However, from an account of 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi, it appears that the Pir was none other than the Hazrat of Charbagh, who had been specifically brought from Makkah for this purpose.<sup>68</sup> Besides, the British fixed an yearly grant of one lakh per year as a reward for his neutrality. This amount was later enhanced to three lakhs per year.

As regards the delaying tactics of Habibullah with the members of the mission, Dupree asserts that Habibullah was playing a game of positive neutrality. In other words, since he was not sure as to which side would win the war, he kept his choices open and was willing to go in that direction where the vagaries of time or the flow of winds, as it were, will take him. Some have suggested that he was not interested in helping the Turkish Caliph,

for he himself wanted to become a Caliph in the event of the liquidation of the Turkish Caliphate. Others have claimed that during the last years of his life i.e. from 1915 to 1919, he was so much engrossed in the fulfillment of his incarnal gratification that he had no energy or interest left for political matters. He had become oblivious to what was going on inside or outside the country.<sup>69</sup> According to Louis Dupree, Habibullah had four wives, 35 concubines and approximately 50 children. Aibak says that apart from four wives, the Amir had 100 concubines.<sup>70</sup> Laghari puts the number of his wives at 300 and that of his concubines at 1000.<sup>71</sup> Maulvi Muhammad Ali Qusuri, an Ox-Bridge, who had arrived in Kabul in March 1915 as a teacher at Habibiya school and who had occasion to play golf with the Amir<sup>72</sup> says that there were 900-1000 womenfolk in the Harem of the Amir.<sup>73</sup> Most of these women were Surati. The Surati, in the opinion of Qusuri, were the concubines belonging to Nooristan, formerly called Kafiristan. One section of Kafiristan lies in Pakistan. The other section was invaded in the era of Amir Abdur Rahman and was forcibly converted to Islam. Since Nooristan had been conquered by Afghanistan, the women of that region became slave girls or concubines. The Amir became their Wali (guardian). Consequently, those Suratis who were

chosen by the Amir were kept by him as legal wives. The others were married away. The Suratis were entitled to inheritance, and royal titles. Among the children of Habibullah, there were several from Surati women. For example, Hayatullah, an older son, was among them.<sup>74</sup> Poullada opines that the concept of Surati is akin to a morganatic wife.<sup>75</sup> About the connubial life of Habibullah, Sindhi wrote, "Like other kings, Amir Habibullah was not immune to moral turpitude. Now this disease went from bad to worse. He began to molest the wives and daughters of the nobility. Some of the chaste women from among these committed suicide after being subjected to disgrace".<sup>76</sup>

‘Ubayd Allah Sindhi was given permission to meet with the members of the Turkish-German mission after his meeting with Habibullah.<sup>77</sup> ‘Abdul Bari, one of the 15 students from Lahore, who had become the president of the emigree students after the death of ‘Abdul Majid Khan, became the translator of Sindhi during the parleys of the latter with the members of the mission. Soon differences erupted between the Indian and German members. These differences as well as the lukewarm attitude of Habibullah contributed to the failure of the mission. Sindhi reported that Pratap had accompanied the Turkish-German mission with his own



mission. The Raja, he claimed, planned to establish a Hindu state in India with the help of the king of Nepal.<sup>78</sup> Furthermore, Sindhi says, Pratab was in fact associated with the Hindu Mahasabha.<sup>79</sup> He had come to Kabul to inform Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya<sup>80</sup> (1861-1946) in the event of Afghanistan's alliance with Turkey and Germany and to thwart Afghanistan's invasion of India. Similarly, Barakatullah Bhopali had lived away from India for many years and consequently he knew very little as to what transpired in India and the tribal areas at that time. In the words of Sindhi, Bhopali and Pratap had not even seen the maps of Afghanistan, NWFP, Punjab, Sindh and Baluchistan.<sup>81</sup> For this reason, Bhopali agreed with everything uttered by Pratap. The German representative also had a high opinion of the Raja because of his knowledge. He also agreed with whatever the Raja said. However, after having met with Sindhi, the German and Austrian representatives realized that what the Raja had told the German Government in Berlin about the current situation in India and about the future course of events there, was far from reality. They came to realize that nothing could be accomplished in India without giving weightage to the significance of Muslims in that country. Furthermore, they admitted that Sindhi was more well-informed about the situation in

India than was Pratap. The views of Sindhi were closer to reality as he knew more about the tribal area, Afghanistan and the predicament of Indian Muslims. For this reason, the differences which had already come to surface between the German and Indian members became more pronounced.<sup>82</sup> The Indian members put the blame of the failure of the mission on the shoulders of the Germans. On the other hand, the Germans argued that the false promises which the Indians had made with them at Berlin and Istanbul, even the tenth part of that was not visible at Kabul.<sup>83</sup> Sindhi says that initially the members of the German mission did not meet him and his colleagues with cordiality. However, our ideas impressed them and slowly but surely they became our friends.<sup>84</sup>

The first meeting between Pratap and Sindhi took place at the office of Dr. Munir Beg, the senior doctor and head of the civil hospital at Kabul. Sindhi says that after holding conversation with Pratap, he came to the conclusion that Pratap's ideas were based on the assumption that no sizeable number of Muslims lived in India. He cherished this opinion for a very long time. However, Sindhi claims that he rectified this fallacious assumption of Pratap and he came to include Muslims in the affairs of India. Secondly, the

inclusion of Pratap in the German mission engendered some sort of misunderstanding about him in India where the idea had gained currency that Pratap had put his services before the Kaiser. In order to refute this allegation, Pratap wrote a letter to the editor of Siraj al-Akhbar in 1916 captioned "an Important letter". The text of the letter is as follows.

"Excuse me, I would like to trouble you a bit through this letter of mine. I was surprised to know that some newspapers of India hurl false accusations at me without any proof. Through the courtesy of your paper, I would like to keep the record straight and refute these allegations. It is being said about me that I have projected myself a Maharaja (a great Raja) and have entered the staff of the German Kaiser. These accusations are baseless and unfounded. I don't lay any claims to be a raja, let alone a Maharaja. Nor have I entered the employment of the German Kaiser. However, the truth of the matter is that I went to Germany during the great war with a view to see the condition of that country. The German Government did many favours to me. I was provided with an opportunity to watch the war fronts both on the field and from the aeroplane. The Kaiser himself honoured me with an audience. After having set right with him the problem of India

and receiving some important documents from him, I headed towards the East. I met with the ex-khedive of Egypt, the princes and famous ministers. Anwar Pasha and the Ottoman Caliph. I also set right the problem of India with the Ottoman officials and received important documents from them. Maulvi Barakatullah as well as some German and Turkish officials were dispatched with me to Kabul. They are still with me. Despite severe hardships and dangers, we reached Afghanistan, through the grace of God, via Baghdad and Isfahan. The Afghan Amir has declared neutrality in the war and we are the guests of the Afghan Government. My friends should appreciate all of this. If they cannot be grateful, then, at least they should not attribute non-sense to me ..... Mahendra Pratap, the servant of the world, is the friend of India.<sup>85</sup>

Sir Michael O'Dwyer says that like the German Kaiser, Pratap suffered from megalomania. Furthermore, he states that the meeting of Pratap with the Kaiser had taken place through the help of Har Dayal who was very successful in corrupting others".<sup>86</sup>

M.N Roy holds that for many years Pratap entertained the idea that he was a Prophet. While in Kabul, Pratap wrote a book called The Religion of Love. When he visited Soviet Russia, he presented this book to Lenin (1870 - 1924) with the provision that

until and unless he acted upon the contents of the book, the revolution brought about by Lenin was doomed to failure. Lenin promised that he would go through the book and express his opinion during the next meeting. During the second meeting Lenin told Pratap that he should preach his gospel of love to the Britishers in London. Further more, he said that the Bolsheviks did not believe in God. However, he would follow his advice only after Pratap accomplished in his own country what Lenin did in Russia.<sup>87</sup>

M.N.Roy is of the opinion that the establishment of the so-called Provisional Government of India in exile was included in the plan or agenda of the Turkish-German mission. The purpose of this 'Government', he says, was to create disturbances in India and, in the event of the successful overthrow of the British rule, to take charge of the Government in Independent India. Virendranath Chattopadhyaya<sup>88</sup> thought that the most suitable person for this purpose was Mahendra Pratap. Pratap, who was then stranded at Switzerland, was asked by Chattopadhyaya to come to Berlin. Pratap put the condition that he would come to Berlin only if the Kaiser would receive him in audience. This condition was accepted and he left for Berlin. There he was appointed the

chairman of the Indian revolutionary committee. In order to give a more representative and democratic look to the Turkish-German mission, Pratap was included in it.<sup>89</sup> However, the promised meeting with the Qaiser could not materialize on the pretext that the Qaiser was away directing the war-fronts. However, he was permitted to meet the crown-prince.<sup>90</sup> The obvious contradiction between Pratap's own statement as regards his meeting with the Qaiser and the story narrated by Roy might be reconciled by surmising that Pratap may have met with Qaiser on certain other occasion.

The anti-British clique in Afghanistan was very happy with the arrival of the Turkish-German mission. However, there was no dearth of British stooges in Afghan Government. For this reason, the mission could not persuade Habibullah in its short-range goal. It appears that on the one hand Habibullah kept a friendly rapport with the mission and on the other he kept the British informed through their counsellor at Kabul as to what transpired between him and the members of the mission. There was also the problem of communication, for the members of the Turkish-German mission who endeavored to get in touch with their respective Governments through wireless so that the proposal of the Amir

could be communicated to them. However, the system of wireless was not very effective or successful then. Resultantly, the information could not reach from Kabul to Berlin and vice versa well in time. The British promised to the Amir an amount of three crore pounds at the end of the war as a reward of his neutrality.<sup>91</sup> He carried out a propaganda among the tribesmen that it was not lawful to wage Jihad without an Amir. The people who would be killed in such a war would not attain the status of shahadat. Furthermore, he propagated the idea that at the commencement of the ripe time, he himself would declare Jihad and lead it.<sup>92</sup> These factors contributed to the failure of the Turkish-German mission.

### VIII

In his autobiography, Pratap relates the story of the formation of the Provisional Government. He says that when he became disappointed with the Afghan Amir, he hit upon the idea of forming an independent political organization which would carry through negotiations with other countries. In order to institute this objective, ten men including Neidermayer, Von Henting, Captain Kazim Beg, Dr. Munir Beg, head of the civil hospital at Kabul and others gathered together in a room at Bagh-i-Babur at the invitation of Pratap. This took place on the evening of the first December

1915, which coincided with the birthday of Pratap. To this gathering, which Pratap had invited for a feast, he disclosed the following," Now I must tell you the reason why I have asked you to take the trouble of coming here. I do not believe in birthday rejoicing, as I believe that life is a running stream without a beginning or an end. We are going to establish this night the first Provisional Government of India. I will take the oath as its president and our honourable friend Mawlana Barakatullah will presently take over as its first premier<sup>93</sup>". Pratap has given the following names of ministers and other members of the provisional Government.

- |     |                                   |                   |
|-----|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| (1) | Mahendra Pratap                   | President.        |
| (2) | <u>Mawlana</u> Barakatullah       | Premier.          |
| (3) | <u>Mawlana</u> 'Ubayd Allah       | Home Minister.    |
| (4) | Maulvi Muhammad Bashir            | War Minister.     |
| (5) | Champa Kraman Dillai              | Foreign Minister. |
| (6) | Shamshir Singh alias Mathura Sing | Minster.          |

Besides these functionaries, there were nine plenipotentiaries. They were Khuda Bakhsh, Muhammad 'Ali Qusuri, Rahmat 'Ali Zakariya, Zafar Hasan Aibak, Allah Nawaz.



Harnam Singh, Gujar Singh alias Kala Singh, ʿAbdul ʿAziz and ʿAbdul Bari.<sup>94</sup>

As regards the circumstances which led to the inclusion of Mawlana Sindhi in the Provisional Government and how it functioned in Kabul, Sindhi reports the following in his diary.

“Before the return of Indo-German mission we had frequent meetings with its members through Mr. ʿAbdul Bari, although Raja Mahendra Pratap did not like it. We had been invited to join the Provisional Government because of the influence we had with the foreign members. The invitation extended to me might have been based on the assumption that I will not accept it owing to the constitution of the Provisional Government which made the oath of loyalty to the Raja Sahib essential. But I joined it with great pleasure. I made certain alterations in the oath which were approved by the Raja Sahib. Thereafter, our discussions on the Indian affairs remained free from any external interference. In the beginning, there were only three members in the Provisional Government but the number was increased during the reign of Amir Amanullah Khan. Among the new members of the cabinet, Mawlana Muhammad Bashir, the representative of the mujahid party, needs special mention. Raja Sahib was a man of great

qualities but had, because of his family background, strong tendency to dictatorship. He was capable of conversing with the European members in their language and could speak on democracy eloquently, but when it came to party affairs, his inherent despotic character never failed to manifest itself. With great tact and persuasion he was made to agree that when the time would come we will hand over the Provisional Government to the party nominated by Indian National Congress. He renounced his original claims of life president and sole authority with great reluctance. When Raja Sahib left Kabul for the first time, it was decided that the Provincial Government will operate from three places, Kabul, Nepal and North East Bengal. The work of Kabul centre was entrusted to me. The charge of Jundullah and other activities at Kabul centre of the Provincial Government was taken up by me. When Amanullah came into power he accepted me as the representative of the Provincial Government of India and allowed me to participate in all matters relating to peace and war. At the end of the war in Afghanistan, I was given an audience by Amir Amanullah in a special gathering of distinguished personalities, which was a great honour. During the course of the war, some important affairs were also entrusted to me and my

services in this behalf were duly acknowledged at the close of the hostilities".<sup>95</sup>

Since the purpose of the Provincial Government, *inter alia*, was to forge friendly relations with other countries and bring these into alliance against Britain, it was decided that a delegation should be dispatched to Czarist Russia. The delegation was supposed to make negotiations with Czarist Government to give her assurance of political and economic concessions with a view to bring Russia and free India closer to each other. Pratap suggested the name of Mithra Singh for this purpose. Mithra Singh was formerly a member of the Ghadar party based at America. From there he reached India via a ship called S.S. Komagata Maru in order to preach sedition there. Some of his friends were arrested but Mithra Singh managed to escape to Afghanistan. Mawlana 'Ubayd Allah insisted that a Muslim should accompany Mithra Singh. Khushi Muhammad was chosen for this purpose. Sardar Nasrullah Khan agreed to the proposal; however, he did not agree to give him money for the expenses of Khushi Muhammad's journey. The financial situation of Sindhi was always bad; when he reached Kabul, he had to sell his clothes in order to meet the requirements of his companions.<sup>96</sup> This being the case, Sindhi had to borrow

money from Muhammad 'Ali Qusuri who generously lent him 100 pounds. Mithra Singh and Khushi Muhammad who assumed the fictitious name of Mirza Muhammad 'Ali set out on their mission to Russia. At Tashqand they were received by the Governor of Russian Turkistan. The Governor took from them the letter which had been engraved on a golden plate and dispatched it to the Czar at Saint Petersburg, the capital of Russia then. The two messengers were asked to wait at Tashqand for the reply. When the reply did not come for too long the two men were given a send off with the false hope or assurance that they would be informed about the outcome of their letter in due course. Curiously enough, instead of giving a reply in response to the letter, the Czar showed it to the British. He also sought military help from the British with the threat that if Russia did not receive the said help, she will make truce with Germany. The Rowlatt Sedition Committee Report published at Calcutta in 1918 by the Superintendent Government Printing mentions this letter in the following words, "The Provincial Government despatched letters to the Governor of Russian Turkistan and the then Czar of Russia inviting Russia to throw over her alliance with Great Britain and assist in the overthrow of the British rule in India. These were signed by

Mahendra Pratap and subsequently fell in British hands. The letter to the Czar was on a golden plate a photograph of which has been shown to us".<sup>97</sup>

When the delegation returned to Kabul, Mahendra Pratap took Mithra Singh to the Naib al-Sultanat so that the latter could be briefed on the outcome of the journey. When the Naib al-Sultanat questioned Mithra Singh about the trip, he replied simply, "We travelled safely and returned safely."<sup>98</sup> To every question of Nasrullah Khan, Mithra Singh would give the same reply. Haji 'Abdur Razzaq who was present there became very disappointed with the reply of Mithra Singh. He informed Sindhi about this and asked him to present Muhammad 'Ali before the prince. Muhammad 'Ali was an intelligent and far-sighted young man. He had taken full notes during the journey e.g. a description of the city of Tashqand and the details of his meeting with the Governor of Russian Turkistan. He took out a notebook from his pocket and gave an enlightened discourse to the prince. The latter became very happy and appreciated the decision of Sindhi to include Khushi Muhammad in the mission to Russia. This affair enhanced the prestige of Sindhi among the Afghan officials as well as the members of the Turkish-German mission."<sup>99</sup>

After the mission to Czarist Russia, the Provincial Government decided to send missions to Japan and Turkey. The mission to Japan consisted of Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir and Dr. Mithra Singh whereas 'Abdul Bari and Shugaulah were dispatched to Turkey. For the expenses of these missions, von Hentig, who had become disillusioned with his own mission to Kabul and was about to leave Afghanistan, gave 300 pounds to Sindhi. However, both these missions could not reach the destination and therefore met with failure. Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir and Mithra Singh fell into the hands of Russians who handed over them to the British. Mithra Singh had already been wanted in a bomb case and had fled to Afghanistan. This time when he was captured by the British, he was hanged at Lahore. Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir remained in jail till the end of the war. In all probability, he died in jail.<sup>100</sup> Similarly the mission to Turkey was intercepted by Russians at Mashhad who, after subjecting 'Abdul Bari and Shuga'ullah to severe torture, handed over them to the British. The two men were later brought to India.

## IX

While living at Kocha-i Hazrat at shor Bazar, Mawlana Sindhi formed an organization called Jundullah (The Army of

God), the purpose of which was to make recruits from India and create alliances between Muslim countries.<sup>101</sup> This was yet another tactic or attempt to liquidate the British Imperialism in India. The members of this semi-Military organization which resembled the Christian salvation Army were supposed to work for the welfare of the Islamic world on a voluntary basis without drawing any salary. Mawlana Mahmood Hasan was appointed the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of God. The headquarters of the Jundullah were to be in Madina; secondary headquarters under local generals were to be established at Constantinople, Tehran and Kabul. The general at Kabul centre would be 'Ubayd Allah himself. The Army of God had a highly elaborate list of appointees. There were three patrons, twelve field Marshals, two generals, 30 lieutenant generals, 10 lieutenant colonels, 5 majors, 2 captains and one lieutenant.<sup>102</sup> The three patrons were the Sultan of Turkey, the king of Persia Sultan Ahmad Qajar, and Amir Habibullah. The twelve fields marshalls, some of whom could not be contacted or informed of their appointment, were. Abbas Hilmi Pasha, the Sharif of Makkah, Sardar Nasrullah, Sardar Inayatullah, the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Wali of Bhopal, the Nawab of Rampur, the Nizam of Bahawalpur, the leader of the mujahidin, the Crown Prince of the Ottoman

empire and the Prime Minister of the Ottoman empire. The 30 lieutenant generals were. Mawlana Muhayyud Din, Mawlana °Abdur Rahim, Mawlana Ghulam Muhammad from Bahawalpur, Mawlana Taj Muhammad Sindhi, Mawlana Husain Ahmad Madani, Maulvi Hamdullah, Haji Turangzai, Dr. M.A. Ansari, Hakim °Abdur Razzaq, Mullah Sahib of Babara who was very influential among Salarzai and Hilmand tribes, Mullah Kohistani or Mullah Mastan who had attacked a British post in Swat in December 1915, Jan Sahib of Bajur, Maulvi Ibrahim, Maulvi Muhammad Miyan, Haji Basir Ahmad, Shaikh °Abdul °Aziz Halimabadi, Maulvi °Abdur Rahim Azimabadi, Maulvi °Abdullah Ghazipur, Nawab Mushir al- Din Ahmad, Maulvi °Abdul Bari, Abul Kalam Azad, the °Ali Brothers, Mawlana Nazir °Ali, Mawlana Hasrat Mohani, Maulvi °Abdul Qadir Qusuri, Maulvi Barakatullah Bhopali and Pir Asadullah Shah Sindhi. The ten lieutenant colonels were. Fazal Mahmood, Muhammad Hassan, Sh. °Abdullah, Zafar Hasan, Allah Nawaz, Rahman °Ali, Haji Shah Bakhsh Sindhi, Maulvi °Abdul Qadir Dinpuri, Maulvi Ghulam Nabi, Muhammad °Ali Sindhi. Among the five majors were included Shah Nawaz, °Abdur Rahman and °Abdul Haqq. The two captains were Muhammad Salim and Karim Bakhsh whereas the



lieutenant was Nadir Shah.<sup>103</sup> Bamford states that of the students from Lahore, one was to be a major general, one a colonel, and six, lieutenant colonels.<sup>104</sup>

Mawlana Sindhi issued separate instructions to each and every member of Jundullah. Apart from militant activities, these instructions were related to improving the economic conditions of those Islamic lands which were going to be liberated from the clutches of the British Imperialism in the near future. More specifically, the schemes of Sindhi were related to Iran, Turkey and Arabia. For instance, Zafar Hasan Aibak and Muhammad Hasan Yaqub were deputed by Sindhi to go to Arabia and form an organization the purpose of which would be to collect hides of goats, sheep and camel during the season of Hajj, to manufacture various forms of leather from these hides in a factory and then import these to various Islamic countries. It was proposed that an international company should be established at Hijaz for the said purpose. The establishment of an Islamic bank which would finance such projects was also suggested. It was hoped that the company would become so big one day that it would have its own trading ships for exporting its manufactured leather goods. This

was a gigantic task indeed. However, the attitude of the Afghan Government was an impediment in the realization of this project.<sup>105</sup>

## X

Around this time i.e. July 1916, Sindhi intended to inform his old friend and teacher Mahmud Hasan about his activities at Kabul and what had been achieved till then. Similarly, another letter dated 8 Ramadhan (9 July 1916) was written by Mawlana Muhammad Miyan Ansari (fictitious name Mansuri) who had joined Sindhi at Kabul after having distributed the copies of Ghalibnama among the frontier tribesmen and in India. Ansari had accompanied Mahmud Hasan to Makkah in September 1915 from where he returned to India bringing with him the Ghalibnama. The Ghalibnama, signed by Ghalib Pasha, the military Governor of Hijaz, was an invitation to Jihad to be carried out by the people of India and the frontier tribesmen. The text of the Ghalibnama has been mentioned elsewhere in this dissertation. According to the Rowlatt Committee Report, the Silk letters, jointly written by Sindhi and Ansari, mentioned "the arrival of the German and Turkish missions, the return of the Germans, the staying on of the Turks, "but without work", the runaway students, the circulation of the Ghalibnama, the Provisional Government and the projected

formation of an "Army of God".<sup>106</sup> The letters were written en clair on yellow silk which was sewn in the jacket of a certain 'Abdul Haqq. Alongwith the letters, a covering note had been written to Shaikh 'Abdur Rahim Sindhi in which he had been advised to take the silk letters to the Shaikhul Hind through some reliable Haji (pilgrim). If he could not find such a person, then he was told to carry these personally to Makkah. The carrier of the letters, 'Abdul Haqq was a convert Muslim and was the servant of Khan Bahadar Rabb Nawaz Khan, father of Allah Nawaz Khan, one of the students from Lahore. En route to Sindh, 'Abdul Haqq got off from the train at Multan to visit his home. He met Khan Bahadar Rabb Nawaz Khan who, discerning suspicion about 'Abdul Haqq's visit, enquired of him the real purpose of his visit. 'Abdul Haqq may have shown hesitancy in revealing the purpose of his visit, but under severe threats from Rabb Nawaz Khan, he gave in. The cat was now out of the bag. Rabb Nawaz Khan was a lackey of the British, consider the title Khan Bahadar. He was a friend of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the governor of the Punjab, to whom he showed the letters. Thus the scheme collapsed bringing in its wake a hell of terror and torment let loose upon Indian Muslims. Several incarcerations of the Muslims followed. 'Abdul

Haqq was given employment in police and Rabb Nawaz Khan received 12 Murabbas of land, as a reward.<sup>107</sup> Zafar Hasan Aibak maintains that there was no proof as to whether ‘Abdul Haqq was a British spy from the very beginning who had accompanied the students from Lahore as some have suggested or whether he came under the influence of Rabb Nawaz Khan’s threats and coaxing. No solid proof has been discovered so far on this point.<sup>108</sup> However, it is probable that ‘Abdul Haqq met Rabb Nawaz not with the intention of showing him the letters but only to inform him about the well-being of his two sons, namely, Allah Nawaz Khan and Shah Nawaz Khan. It is also possible that the two brothers may have told him to meet their father at Multan and inform him about their condition and then either through the craftiness of Rabb Nawaz or the simplicity of ‘Abdul Haqq, the real purpose of the latter’s journey became known. In any event, because of the disclosure of the “plot”, the British Government protested strongly to the Afghan Government. As a corollary, Sindhi and his associates were taken to Jalalabad where they were put in the house arrest of Muhammad Husain the Mustawfi al-Mamalik till the assassination of Habibullah Khan in February, 1919.<sup>109</sup>

Mawlana ʿAbdullah Laghari has given a different and highly tendentious version of the failure of the Silk-letters and the impact of that failure upon the subsequent events. He claims that when the silk-letters were written, 4 lakh Afghan soldiers were ready to invade India. Only the reply of the Shaikhul Hind was being awaited which would supposedly synchronise with the arrival of one lakh soldiers from Turkey. Maulvi ʿAbdul Bari and Shaikh Shugaʿullah had been dispatched to Turkey for this purpose. Pratap had studied the silk-letters. Laghari further argues that the Raja was a representative of Madan Mohan Malaviya and he had been stationed in Afghanistan so that he could inform Malaviya in the event of Afghanistan's invasion of India. He opines that Pratap had told ʿAbdul Haqq to show the letters to Khan Bahadar Rabb Nawaz Khan. ʿAbdul Haqq acted upon the advice of Pratap which contributed to the failure of the plot. The Shaikhul Hind was arrested in Hijaz. ʿAbdul Bari and Shugaʿullah were arrested in Iran. In India itself, large scale incarcerations followed. As for the Raja, he reached Balkh and from there went to Switzerland. There he called his brother, told him the story of the silk-letters and asked him to inform Malaviya. Malaviya initiated shuddi movement in response to which the Muslims started the Tabligh movement.<sup>110</sup>

Whatever may have caused the failure of the silk-letters, it appears that their authors were not aware of the international situation prevailing then. For example, the silk-letters were written in July 1916. By that time the Sharif of Makkah had already revolted from the Ottoman empire in June 1916.<sup>111</sup> This being so, even if the letters had reached Makkah, they could not have accomplished the desired objective. However, they evoked immense reaction and panic in India as we have noted above.

## XI

In February 1919, when the first world war was over, Amir Habibullah thought the time was ripe to demand from the British his reward for staying steadfast during the war and vindicate his policy to his people. On 2 February, 1919, he wrote to the viceroy demanding written recognition by the peace Conference of Afghanistan's "absolute liberty, freedom of action and perpetual independence".<sup>112</sup> Furthermore, he demanded that Afghanistan should be included in the Peace Conference which had been started on 18 January 1919. To this Peace Conference Afghanistan had not been invited despite the fact that Habibullah was a good friend of the British. This is borne out by the fact that on 24 December 1915, George V, the king of Britain had written a letter to

Habibullah calling him "my dear friend" and "Malik Mua'zzam".<sup>113</sup> Furthermore, on that occasion George V wrote, "I admire this friendship which has kept our two people together".<sup>114</sup> Nine days later, that is, on 11 February, 1919, Habibullah demanded from the viceroy 90 Lakhs of rupees. Edwin Montago, secretary of state for India, prepared a reply for the letter of Habibullah on 19 February, 1919.<sup>115</sup> But the Amir could not see the reply as he was assassinated on the night of 20 February, 1919 in his hunting camp at Kalagosh in the Laghman valley.<sup>116</sup> An unknown assassin entered the tent at 3. A.M. and shot him in the head. It happened to be a Wednesday.<sup>117</sup>

There were several rumours about the mysterious murder of Habibullah. The Russians accused the British for hiring a certain Mustafa Saghir for the assassination. Eventually the Afghans accepted this version. However, prior to accepting this version, Amanullah executed Col. Shah 'Ali Raza Khan for the murder and sentenced Nasrullah for life imprisonment in April, 1919. A Herati sergeant Ghulam Rasul who was like a giant and had earned the nickname of "wolf" was also executed.<sup>118</sup> Mustafa Saghir was arrested in Turkey and accused of complicity in a plot to kill Mustafa Kamal Ataturk. Confessed to the murder of Habibullah in a

trial in Ankara in 1922 alongwith other crimes. He was hanged. Besides, the names mentioned in connection with the plot are Nasrullah Khan, Amanullah, Mahmood Tarzi, Nadir Khan, and other members of the Musahiban family.<sup>119</sup> M.N. Roy has mentioned a story in his Memoris which suggests that Amanullah had killed his father. He says that the Russian ambassador at Kabul, namely, Raskolnikov ably assisted by his talented wife, was a successful diplomat at the court of Amanullah. The couple had friendly relations with the king. Once Raskolnikov asked Amanullah as to "what he thought of Bolshevism; was he not afraid of coming in contact with Bolsheviks, who frankly stood for the abolition of the feudal and capitalist social order?"<sup>120</sup> The king smiled and replied, "No; because I am also a Bolshevik".<sup>121</sup> Raskolnikov was taken aback and thought it was a mere joke. But the king was serious and "whispered in his ear that he also had killed his father to ascend the throne".<sup>122</sup> Similarly, in another place in his Memoris, Roy writes, "In the meantime, Amanullah had disposed of his pro-British father and ascended the Afghan throne".<sup>123</sup>

<sup>c</sup>Ubayd Allah Sindhi says that one week prior to his murder,

Habibullah had called himself Amir-ul-Muminin and Khalifatul



Muslimin during the Friday sermon. Sindhi was very much aggrieved by this act of Habibullah.<sup>124</sup> It appears that he was waiting for the demise of the Ottoman Caliphate so that he could declare himself the Caliph.<sup>125</sup> Furthermore, in the same week he had sent mules to Peshawar for bringing the money and gifts which he expected from the British as a reward of his neutrality in the war. But, lo and behold, Sindhi remarks, Habibullah could neither become a Caliph nor could he receive the promised reward.<sup>126</sup>

After the murder of Habibullah, which event was called "the murder of this century",<sup>127</sup> his younger brother Nasrullah who was then at Jalalabad proclaimed himself to be a king. The kingship of Nasrullah was recognized by the two sons of Habibullah, namely, Hayatullah and Inayatullah. The news of Nasrullah's ascension were communicated to Amanullah, the third son of the Amir, through a telephone. He asked as to what had been done as regards the discovery and punishment of the assassins. Nasrullah also informed the viceroy of India about his ascension and demanded that he should be recognized as the king. However, the cunning Briton promised that when the people of Afghanistan recognized Nasrullah as king, he would also do the same.<sup>128</sup>

However, the third son of the Amir, namely, Amanullah was a Regent of Kabul at that time. He was also the commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. The treasury, the weaponry and the army were in his control.<sup>129</sup> Consequently, he took advantage of his position, invaded Jalalabad and compelled Nasrullah on surrender. He proclaimed himself to be the King. Nasrullah and his supporters were brought to Kabul in chains where they were put in dungeon. Nasrullah died there in 1921.<sup>130</sup> One reason of the success of Amanullah was that he had announced an increase in the salary of the soldiers. This increase was Rs. 5 per month. Previously, the soldiers would get 15 Afghanis per month. Now that amount was increased to 20 Afghanis per month. On the contrary, Nasrullah had announced a increase of 2 Afghanis per month. Besides, the enthusiasm, sentimentality, Afghan nationalist aspirations, and charisma of Amanullah were the factors which contributed to his selection as king in preference to Nasrullah.

## XII

The first act of Amanullah after seating on the throne on 28 February 1919<sup>131</sup> was to proclaim the independence of Afghanistan. On March 3, 1919, Amanullah informed the viceroy Lord Chelmsford (r. 1916-1921) of his ascension and also

manifested his intention to make some changes in the treaties made with the British. He wrote to the viceroy thus: "our Independent and free Government considers itself ready at every time and season, to conclude such agreements and treaties with the British Government as may be useful and serviceable in the way of commercial advantages to our Government and Yours".<sup>132</sup> In response to this letter, the Viceroy retorted, "From this it seems possible that the commercial requirements of Afghanistan are thought to call for some agreement with the British Government, subsidiary to the treaties and engagements mentioned above."<sup>133</sup>

This discouraging answer of the Viceroy led to the third Anglo-Afghan war. Amanullah sent his forces to the eastern border. During the previous two Anglo-Afghan wars, the British had invaded Afghanistan but this time it was Afghanistan which was to invade India.

The time of the third Anglo-Afghan war coincided with disturbances and unrest in India. For instance, people were revolting against the passage of the draconian Rowlatt bills which were intended to stifle every sort of political activity.<sup>134</sup> Similarly, the Gallianwala Bagh massacre<sup>135</sup> also took place in the same year. Because of the treaty of Sevres, which had been concluded at the

end of the first world war and in which Turkey had been dismembered, there was bitterness and resentment among Indian Muslims who had carried out campaigns for the protection of Caliphate. Furthermore, the foundation of the Jam'iyatul 'Ulama-i Hind had also been laid in the same year.<sup>136</sup> About this state of affairs, the lieutenant Governor of the Punjab Sir Michael O'Dwyer said that Afghanistan wanted to take advantage of these disturbances and "Stab the British in the back".<sup>137</sup>

Aibak maintains that very little soldiers were left in India as they were in European fronts. Though the first world war had ended, nevertheless, the British soldiers had not yet returned to India. Never was the time so opportune for the complete Independence of Afghanistan or for that matter of India if only things would have gone in the right direction. Against this backdrop, preparations were started for the war by the Afghans themselves on the one hand, and Sindhi was asked by Amanullah to inform the Indians about the invading Afghan army and also to welcome it, on the other. One night Sindhi went to the Engine House and printed the following announcement in English and Urdu.

“Brave Indians! Courageous countrymen! You have read the account of the organization of the Provisional Government of India. It has Raja Mahendra Pratap as its president, Mr. Barakatullah (of Ghadar Party) as its Prime Minister and M. ‘Ubaidullah as its Administrative Minister. Its object is to liberate India from the Iron clutches of the English and to establish indigenous government there.

This government of yours heard with utmost pleasure, the news of your gallant deeds done for the noble cause of liberty. You have no arms to extirpate the enemies of India and mankind. This government of yours has tried and succeeded in obtaining help from without. Our government has assured itself and made agreements as to your full freedom with the allied invading powers.

Murder the English wherever you find them, cut the telegraph lines, destroy the railway lines and the railway bridges and help in all respects the liberating armies. None shall be molested but who shall resist. Your properties and your homes are safe.”<sup>138</sup> This letter carries the signature of ‘Ubayd Allah. It had been despatched by the Provisional Government of India and on its face side there is a stamp of the minister of Interior of the Provisional Government. The declaration was secretly dispatched

to India by Muhammad 'Ali the nephew of Sindhi, and Allah Nawaz Khan. Muhammad 'Ali took the declaration as far as Hyderabad (Deccan). Allah Nawaz Khan took it to the friends of Sindhi in the Punjab.<sup>139</sup> Poullada says the announcement of Sindhi had been intercepted by the British.<sup>140</sup> However, Aibak, from whose book this declaration has been taken, does not say anything on its interception.

Initially, May 15 had been fixed for the Afghan attack and the simultaneous uprising in India.<sup>141</sup> However, the actual war started on May 3, 1919 when shots were exchanged between the British troops and the Afghan soldiers at the mouth of the Khyber pass. On May 9, the British troops bombed Daka. After that Jalalabad and Kabul were also bombed.<sup>142</sup> The war became operative on the three fronts of Khyber, Peiwar and Speen Boldak corresponding with the eastern, southern and western fronts respectively. The commander of the eastern front was Saleh Muhammad Khan. Sindhi was asked by Amanullah to accompany this front for the sake of advice.<sup>143</sup> Furthermore, Saleh Muhammad was told to work on the directions of Sindhi.<sup>144</sup> Apart from facing tough resistance from the Afghans, the British faced shortage of

water. Cholera broke out in the British army. The system of transportation was also hampered.<sup>145</sup>

The initial military operations of the Afghan soldiers against the British were mostly unsuccessful. Only at the central front which had been divided into three sub-fronts and which were under the command of Nadir Khan and his brothers, the Afghan soldiers became very successful. Nadir Khan captured Thal<sup>146</sup> whereas his brother Shah Wali Khan captured Wana. The students of Sindhi played a decisive role in the success of Nadir Khan. For instance, Zafar Hasan Aibak fought shoulder to shoulder with Nadir Khan. Aibak put his knowledge of Mathematics to good use and all of his cannon shots landed on the desired targets. He had already prepared a map of the area. The first shell was thrown by Nadir Khan himself. Sindhi says that the achievements of Aibak at the battle of Thal were greatly appreciated. In recognition to his services, the Afghan Government fixed an honorarium for Aibak.<sup>147</sup> Similarly, the nephew of Sindhi, namely, Muhammad 'Ali had been appointed on the western front of Qandahar to help Sardar 'Abdul Quddus Khan, the commander of that front.<sup>148</sup>

The British thought the Afghan invasion and the tribal uprisings were encouraged by emissaries from Delhi and

Amritsar.<sup>149</sup> Prior to the Afghan invasion, on 28 April 1919 the Afghan foreign minister wrote to the Afghan envoy at Simla asking him "to obtain allegiance from Hindus and Mohammadens [Sic]. Afghanistan shares the feelings of the Indians and is determined to support them. If you get the chance please get exciting articles inserted in the newspapers. It is essential that Ghulam Hasan and other agents should win over the hearts of Hindus and Musalmans, win favour with the Hindus and also induce the Hindus to unite with the Musalmans (against the British)".<sup>150</sup>

The Afghans claimed the British were forced to conclude an armistice on 31 May, 1919. Negotiations for peace were held between 26 July-8 August at Rawalpindi. The delegation of the British was headed by Sir Himalton Grant, the foreign secretary of British India. Besides, two Indians namely, Sir Shams Shah and Sir Gor Bakhsh Singh were also included in the British delegation. The Afghan delegation was headed by 'Ali Ahmad Khan, the cousin and brother-in-law of Amanullah. Other members were 'Abdul Ghani, the teacher of Amanullah, Col. Ghulam Muhammad and a Hindu citizen of Kabul Narinjan Das and others.<sup>151</sup> 'Ali Ahmad Khan had publicly said in a mosque at Rawalpindi on 1st August 1919 that the recent action of Afghanistan (i.e. the invasion of



British India) had been the result of her sympathy with the Indian Musalmans.<sup>152</sup> Mukirjee says that there is reason to believe that a lot of Indian revolutionaries participated in the third Afghan war. Furthermore, he claims that he had an interview with the Afghan Prime Hafizullah Amin in 1979 at Kabul in which Amin confirmed this and said also that some Indian revolutionaries had been killed in the Anglo-Afghan war of 1919.<sup>153</sup>

In the peace negotiation of Rawalpindi, the complete independence of Afghanistan was accepted.<sup>154</sup> With the freedom of Afghanistan from the British suzerainty, it became possible for her to forge diplomatic relations with other countries, a power she did not possess before.<sup>155</sup> On 18 August, 1919, Amanullah celebrated the *Jishn-i Istiqlal* (independence celebrations) of Afghanistan.<sup>156</sup> Since then this day is celebrated as the national day of Afghanistan.

As regards the attitude of the British towards the Afghan war, their interpretation of it, and what caused it, could best be understood from the following proclamation notified by Lord Chelmsford (1868-1933) the Viceroy of India, on 10 May, 1919.

“His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India desires to make known to the loyal subjects of the king-Emperor the regrettable news that the Amir of Afghanistan, in violation of

the treaties and in disregard of the steadfast policy of his wise predecessors, has resolved to make a sudden and wanton attack upon the peace of India. His excellency believes that this surprising folly is due directly to the course of internal events in Afghanistan which followed upon the murder of his late Majesty the Amir Habibullah. A powerful section of opinion is not satisfied that the true culprits have been brought to account; and resent the method in which punishment was meted out. The growth of this internal dissatisfaction is the reason which, His Excellency believes, led Amir Amanullah to his present rash adventure, in the hope of distracting his subject's minds from internal discontent. But there is also reason to believe that the present breach of faith with India may be in part the long-delayed fruit of the efforts of friends of Germany in Kabul who failed in all their endeavours to seduce the judgement or shake the loyalty of the late Amir..... Evidence is in His Excellency's hands which shows that the Amir excuses this act of treachery by pretending that India is in a state of revolution which will react on his own country. The Amir has professed to his people that in India neither men's property nor their religion is safe; that three men are forbidden to speak together; that Muslims are excluded from their mosques and Hindus from their temples.

Every man in India knows that these statements are false.....In a suicidal folly the Amir has ventured to measure his strength against that of a power which has just emerged victorious from the greatest war ever fought....”<sup>157</sup>

During the last days of Habibullah, Sindhi and his associates had been put in house arrest at Jalalabad. When Amanullah became seated on the throne, he called them back to Kabul where Sindhi was given a large and spacious house.<sup>158</sup> Sindhi says that when he and his party appeared in the court of Amanullah, the latter remarked, “I am the same person”.<sup>159</sup> According to Aibak, this was a reference to the first meeting between Sindhi and Habibullah during which Sindhi had presented his scheme before the Afghan Monarch. The scheme was that in the event of Afghanistan's invasion of India, a constitutional king of Afghanistan would be seated on the throne of Delhi. Sindhi had proposed the name of Prince Amanullah which Habibullah had approved.<sup>160</sup>

### XIII

Mawlana Sindhi has given an account of his activities and those of his associates during the era of Amanullah. Here we present a gist from his personal diary in which he says, “For a short while under the regime of king Amanullah, we had a glimpse

of the recognition of our Provisional Government in the treatment meted out to us. His dealings with us were nearly the same as with his own ministers of the first rank, upon whom he relied so much. Whenever, we attended his private meetings we were received with the same honour and respect as was shown to the members of his own family and dignitaries of the national level. Never did he turn down any advice tendered by us. Nor any recommendation made by us was ever rejected by him. This being the case, we did not hesitate to render any service to make his Government free and strong. The details of our political activities and the contribution we made to it can not be given here because they have not reached the stage of becoming history".<sup>161</sup> Furthermore, the Mawlana states, "Amanullah Khan's relations with our mission can be judged from the words that he uttered in the condolence meeting that he held on the death of Mawlana Mahmood Hasan. In the condolence address he said, "Mawlana Mahmood Hasan initiated a mission which I am going to complete".<sup>162</sup>

Amanullah Khan had invited and welcomed the Indian Muslims to Afghanistan on the occasion of the Hijrat movement which stirred the political ocean of India in 1920. It appears that he had exhibited great enthusiasm on that occasion. On June 3, 1920,

while being seated in an auto, he addressed the emigrants in the following words, "The country of Afghanistan is your country. I am a mere custodian for the people. I welcome you as brothers. I shall entertain you according to my resources. The colleges and military institutions are open to you. Those of you who are gifted with higher education may be pleased to enter the university. Their services shall be highly paid for, and those less talented may join the army.

But for the time being, we have made special arrangements for your change of climate at Jabal-us-Siraj (Mountain of Light). For two months you have to live there as state guests and then shall come back and take up jobs according to your discretion".<sup>163</sup> He ended his speech by congratulating the emigrants on their sufferings and sacrifices.<sup>164</sup>

The Hijrat movement had been triggered by the dismemberment of Turkey at the hands of the Allied powers. Mawlana 'Abdul Bari from the United provinces had issued a fatwa, in the fashion of the 'Ulama of Deoband, that India had become Dar-al-Harb (Land of the Enemy), and consequently it was incumbent upon Indian Muslims to make Hijrat to the nearest Muslim country.<sup>165</sup> 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi claims that he had

prevailed upon Amanullah to make a declaration to the effect that whosoever from among the Indian Muslims would make emigration to Afghanistan, he would rehabilitate him in his own country and allot him house and land (for cultivation).<sup>166</sup> In response to the invitation of Amanullah, thousands of Indians sold away their houses and properties for throw away prices and headed towards Afghanistan.<sup>167</sup> According to one estimate, 18000 people migrated to Afghanistan. Shaukat Usmani puts the number at 36000. Laghari says that 7 Lakh Indians gathered together in Afghanistan in response to the call of the Hijrat. The world press scolded the British over the Hijrat affair. Some European countries condemned the British. Japan, in particular, protested against it and asked as to what atrocity had been committed by British India that the whole population of that country was leaving their hearths and homes.<sup>168</sup> Laghari claims that Britain came under the influence of this international scourge and promised Amanullah that they would accept all his terms and conditions as regards the freedom of Afghanistan provided Amanullah would send back the emigrants to their homes.<sup>169</sup>

On the other hand the emigrants became a source of burden on Afghanistan. For instance, the population of Kabul at that time

was 60,000. With the arrival of the emigrants, it was enhanced to more than 7 lakhs. The price of bread shot up from 2 paisa to more than one rupee. Clear signs of famine became visible. For these reasons, Amanullah asked his army to expel the emigrants from the Kabul city at night. The next morning when 'Ubaid Allah came to know about it, he met Amanullah and urged him not to expel the emigrants as unceremoniously as that, for, that would displease the Muslims. Consequently, Amanullah called for the emigrants and told them that there was not enough space to accommodate them at Kabul. However, he would like to accommodate them in Turkistan. With this soft refusal of Amanullah, the emigrants started to return to India on their own accord. Only 50 families from Sindh decided to settle in Turkistan. There they faced much hardships. Some returned back to Sindh.<sup>170</sup> Thus the Hijrat movement which had been undertaken with high expectations fizzled out.

#### XIV

Amanullah could not maintain his anti-British elan or frenzy which had characterized his life when he was a prince. With the freedom of Afghanistan and with his installation as the king, his responsibilities and priorities changed. He had to keep some sort of rapprochement both with the Soviet Russia and Great Britain.

Amanullah had entered into an agreement with the British in August 1919 at Rawalpindi. However, tribal incursions into the British Indian territories did not stop. Therefore the British insisted on a permanent treaty with Amanullah. Secondly in 1920 the Soviet Russia which was the first country to recognize the independence of Afghanistan, put forward the proposal of friendship between Afghanistan and Soviet Russia. These prospects frightened the British.<sup>171</sup> Lord Chelmsford asked Amanullah on 9 March 1920 to send a delegation to Missori (India). The negotiations started on 17 April 1920 and continued till 24 July 1920.<sup>172</sup> The leader of the Afghan delegation was Mahmood Tarzi. A third treaty with the British was signed in November 1921 at Kabul when Sir Henry Dobbs arrived there. The Dobbs mission was geared to weaning Afghanistan away from the Soviet influence.<sup>173</sup> However, prior to signing this treaty, Afghanistan had signed a treaty of friendship with the Soviet Russia on May 26, 1921 at Kabul.

By virtue of the agreements between Amanullah and the British, the cordial relations between the Afghan king and Sindhi were hampered. For this reason, ‘Ubayd Allah was not permitted to open an Indian Urdu University at Kabul despite the fact that he had played a formidable role in the victory of Amanullah over the



British. Sindhi had already set up an Indian school at Aliabad on the estate of Nadir Khan. Through a mutual arrangement half of the expenses of this school were met through the financial help of Nadir Khan and the remaining half had to be arranged by the managers of the school. Sindhi now wanted to promote this school to a University for the establishment of which he had formulated an elaborate constitution. However, the British ambassador at Kabul prevailed upon the Afghan foreign minister and urged him not to accept the proposal of the Indian University.<sup>174</sup> Despite these discouraging developments, Sindhi says, he might have decided to settle permanently in Afghanistan had it not been for the future or concern of the young students on the one hand and the failure of the Provisional Government in some of its activities on the other.<sup>175</sup>

When the activities of the Provisional Government were stopped by Amanullah after the agreement of 1921, Sindhi formed the Kabul Congress Committee in 1922. The moving spirit of this idea was Dr. Noor Muhammad Sindhi who had made Hijrat from Hyderabad. He was known to Mr. Gandhi and the young members of the Congress. The Congress Committee of Kabul was affiliated with the parent body in the Gia session through the efforts of Dr. Ansari, who was then secretary of Congress.<sup>176</sup> This was the first

Congress Committee outside the British empire and 'Ubayd Allah says he felt proud to be elected its first president.<sup>177</sup>

'Ubayd Allah had developed relations with Soviet Russia during Amanullah's era. He says that relations with Russia became possible through the permission and suggestion of Amanullah. Pratap also played a role in it. It was through his suggestion that our youth started traffic to Russia. When Indian Communist party was established in Moscow under the leadership of M.N.Roy, its headquarters was established at Tashqand. For many years, Roy ran affairs of the Indian Communist party. For this reason he became our friend. When the British urged Amanullah to stop the activities of the Indian revolutionaries in his country, Sindhi decided to leave Afghanistan for Soviet Russia.<sup>178</sup> Besides, Sindhi says that during the last days of his stay in Kabul, Mawlana Muhammad 'Ali, Mawlana Shaukat 'Ali and Mawlana Husain Ahmad Madani were in prison. Efforts were being made to separate our friends from us. In circumstances like these, it was not possible for me to enjoy the royal hospitality at Kabul.<sup>179</sup> Aibak is of the opinion that when the Afghan Government refused to give the charter of an Indian University to Mawlana Sindhi, the latter was left with two choices. First, to give up politics for good and

lead the remaining part of his life quietly in Afghanistan; second, to leave Afghanistan for some other country and continue his anti-British activities there. The Mawlana reflected on this issue for one year and finally he opted for the second choice despite the fact that it was replete with myriad troubles and hardships. He decided to go to Muslim Turkey via Russia as it was not possible for him to go via Iran for the simple reason that Iran was under the strong British influence in those days.<sup>180</sup> About his journey to Soviet Russian, Sindhi says in his diary, "In November 1922, we crossed Jaihun (Oxus) and became the guest of Soviet Workers at Termiz. We initiated a new observation of the international world politics."<sup>181</sup>

## XV

During the Seven years stay in Afghanistan, Sindhi gained a first hand knowledge of Afghanistan's court intrigues, royal jealousies and conspiratorial nature of the Afghan way of doing things. He could neither outfox Amir Habibullah nor later his son Amanullah. His stay in Afghanistan proved useful for that country but not for India. Aibak maintains that even though the Afghan Government turned a deaf ear to the suggestions of Sindhi, nevertheless, because of the far-sightedness of Sindhi, Afghanistan secured its independence thanks to the sacrifices offered by the

Southern Indian Moplas and the Northern Indian Punjabis. But India remained in bondage as ever before. Afghanistan left its allies-in-war i.e. the Indian Muslims to their destiny.<sup>182</sup>

When Amanullah Khan showed his willingness to come to terms with the British, 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi was disillusioned. Thenceforth, he had to seek fresher and greener pastures as it were for solving the problem of India. Since the Soviet Russia was reckoned a great rival of the British imperialism and since she wanted to stab the British in the back, Sindhi and his entourage fixed their gaze on the U.S.S.R. for help. It appears that the Indian revolutionaries cherished the vision that a honeymoon between nationalism and Communism might help them in getting rid of the British imperialism. It was the espousal of this aspiration or faint hope which dragged Mawlana Sindhi to Soviet Russia. In the next chapter we will discuss and analyze the Mawlana's mission to Soviet Russia.

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. Abul Kalam Azad was born at Makkah in 1888 of a Muslim emigrant father and an Arab mother. When his father returned to India, he settled in Calcutta in 1898. He sent Azad to al-Azhar for advance studies. On his return to India, he entered into politics at the age of 20. In 1912, he started an Urdu weekly al-Hilal. In 1915, he was interned at Ronchi where he stayed till 1920. In 1940, he was elected president of the Indian National Congress and on its behalf entered into negotiations with the Cripps mission in 1942 and later with the Cabinet mission in 1946. Both in the interim Government and later after the partition, he was the minister for education of India. Gandhi wrote the following about Azad, "Mawlana Azad's nationalism was as robust as his faith in Islam. He was a patriot and nationalist first and foremost". (Jagdish Sharma, Encyclopedia of India's struggle for Freedom, (New Delhi. S. Chand & Co., 1979), p. 19-20.
2. P.N. Chopra, Role of Indian Muslims in the struggle for Freedom, (Lahore: Iqbal Publications, 1987), p.34.
3. Ghulam Rasul Mihr, Sarguzasht-i Mujahidin, 1st ed. (Lahore: Kitab Manzil, 1956), p. 533.
4. Mr. J.B. Acharya Kripalani (b. 1888) was a devoted Indian nationalist. He was private secretary to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in 1918. From 1934 to 1946, he was the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress. He was elected to the Constituent Assembly of India in 1946 which post he retained till 1951. Later, he resigned from the Indian National Congress and formed the Kisan Mazdoor Praja party in 1951 which party was later merged with the Socialist party of India in October, 1951. (Jagdish Sharma, p. 126):
5. The money acquired from selling the Jewellery was sent to the Mawlana at Quetta when he was about to cross the Afghan border. (Muhammad Hajjan Shaikh, (hereinafter referred to as Hajjan), Mawlana Ubaid Allah Sindhi. A

revolutionary Scholar, (Islamabad; National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research 1986), p. 31.

6. Muhammad Sarwar, Kabul mein sat sal (hereinafter referred to as Sat Sal) Fourth ed. (Lahore: Sindh Sagar Academy, 1982, p. 101.
7. Shaikh <sup>c</sup>Abdur Rahim, a convert to Islam, was an inhabitant of Hyderabad (Sindh). He was a sincere and faithful friend of Sindhi. When the Mawlana decided to enter the movement for the freedom of India, he persuaded <sup>c</sup>Abdur Rahim to join his mission. For a long time, <sup>c</sup>Abdur Rahim preached Islam to the educated non-Muslim Sindhis. When <sup>c</sup>Ubayd Allah reached Kabul, he continued his correspondence with <sup>c</sup>Abdur Rahim. He was an important factor in the famous "Silk-letter case". After the interception of the silk-letters, the British C.I.D. officials were after him, but they did not succeed in arresting him. He died at Sarhind. (Madani, Naqsh-i Hayat, Vol. P. 614; Sarwar, Sat Sal, p. 88).
8. Sarwar, Sat Sal, p. 27.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p. 37.
11. Ibid., p. 27.
12. P.C. Bamford, Histories of Khilafat and non-Cooperation Movement, Reprint (Delhi: K.K. Distributors, 1985), p. 123.
13. I.II. Qureshi, Ulama in Politics, p. 247.
14. P.C. Bamford, p. 122.
15. Hakim Ajmal Khan was a nationalist Muslim who worked for the propagation of the Indian National Congress. He presided over the 36th session of the Congress held at Ahmadabad when president C.R. Das was in prison in the year 1921. (Sharma, p. 122).

16. M.A. Ansari was educated at Allahabad and Deccan. In 1901 he joined the Edinburgh University and obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine and Master of Surgery from there. In 1912-13, he organized the all-India medical mission to Turkey. In 1917-18 he took leading part in the Home Rule agitation. He was elected president of all India Muslim League in 1920. He actively participated in the Khilafat and non-Cooperation Movements. He was the president of the Khilafat Conference held at Madras in 1927. He played active role in the salt Satyagraha and the Civil disobedience Movements and was imprisoned. He was largely responsible for causing the Indian National Congress to accept the parliamentary programme. He retired from active politics on grounds of ill-health and died on 10 March, 1936. (Sharma, p. 14).
17. Aibak, Aap Biti, p. 81.
18. Sarwar, Sat Sal, p. 101.
19. Shaukat 'Usmani (real name Maula Bakhsh) author of Peshawar to Moscow, who had reached Afghanistan during the Hijrat movement, records the following impressions of Nadir Khan "Of all the Afghan officials, Nadir Khan attracted us the most. He was extremely courteous and cultured. His was a magnetic personality, slender and smart, a tall man in short breeches and long military boots. His silvery thin voice inspired confidence and command. Sitting in the remotest caves of the Hindu Kush the man had a complete grasp of international politics and thorough understanding of the course of European diplomacy. His mastery of the current Indian political situation was most astounding. In our discourses on political topics he used to deal with India in such a masterful and dialectical way that we could not but admire his brilliant arguments". (Shaukat 'Usmani, Peshawar to Moscow (Benaras: Swaraiy Publishing House, 1927), p. 6.
20. Aibak, pp. 92-93. Later, Nadir Khan, out of regard for Sindhi fixed tents for him in a garden situated in the outskirts of the city. This garden was also used for a zoo.

Once while pointing to that garden, Nadir Khan remarked, "Two lions live in this garden (Aibak, p. 120). Nadir Khan may have uttered this sentence jocularly. However, the British always considered Sindhi as a "dangerous man". This fact is borne out by 'Abdul Hamid Swati who maintains that Sindhi was one of those people from whom the British empire was terribly afraid ('Abdul Hameed Swati, Mawlana 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi Ke 'Ulum Wa Afkar (Gujranwala: Idara Nashr-o-Ishaat, Madrasa Nusratul Uloom, 1990), p. 14.

21. Muhammad 'Ali Qusuri, Mushahidat-i Kabul wa Yaghistan, 3rd ed. (Lahore: Idara Maarif-i Islami, 1989), p. 35.
22. Aibak, Aap Biti, p. 94.
23. Sarwar, Sat Sal, p. 35.
24. Olivier Roy, Islam and Resistance in Afghanistan (London: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 58.
25. Sarwar, Sat Sal, p. 114.
26. Ibid., p. 93.
27. Aibak, Aap Biti, p. 94.
28. Ibid., p. 95.
29. Ibid., p. 26.
30. The New Encyclopedia Britannica, (Micropaedia) Vol. 5, p. 602.
31. The New Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 13, 15th ed. p. 37.
32. 'Abdul Hayy Habibi, Tarikh-i Mukhtasar Afghanistan, 2nd ed. (Kabul, n.p. 1346 A.H.), p. 302.
33. Sadhan Mukherji, Afghanistan Zawal Say Uruj Tak (hereinafter referred to as Afghanistan) (Urdu translation by Ghulam Rabbani Taban) (Karachi: Maktaba-i Danyal, n.d.) p. 44.



34. Louis Dupree, Afghanistan, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 432.
35. Mukherji, Afghanistan, p. 45. After renewing the treaty with the British, the annual grant of the Amir was enhanced from Rs. 12 Lakhs to Rs. 18 Lakhs. Furthermore, the Afghan Monarch from then onwards was to be addressed "His Majesty" as opposed to the previous title of "His Highness". (Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, Tarikh al-Afghan 2nd ed. Urdu translation by 'Abdul Quddus Hashmi, (Karachi: Nafees Academy, 1982), p. 190. Habibullah paid a visit to British India from January 2 to March 7, 1907 and remained a guest of Lord Minto, the successor of Curzon (Dupree, p. 432). He was given a warm welcome by British Indian officials. Furthermore, he was so much enticed and captivated by the British through various gifts that during the meeting with the viceroy, he did not speak a single word about the total freedom of Afghanistan. ('Abdullah Mihraban, Tarikh-i Shoora Dar Afghanistan (Kabul: Majlis Sanai Shorai Milli Jamhoori Afghanistan, 1368 A.H.). p. 49.
36. Sarwar, Sat Sal, p. 31.
37. Sayyid Qasim Reshtia, Between Two Giants: Political History of Afghanistan in the Nineteenth century, (Peshawar: Afghan Jihad works Translation Centre, 1990). p. 421, The New Encyclopedia Britannica Vol. 5 (Micropaedia), p. 602.
38. Muhammad 'Ali, A Short History of Afghanistan (Kabul, n.p. 1970), p. 30.
39. Mukherji, Afghanistan, p. 44.
40. Ibid.
41. Aibak, Aap Biti, p. 96.
42. Louis Dupree, Afghanistan, p. 447.

43. Tarikh-i Ma'asir Afghanistan (author's name not given), (Kabul, n.p.), p. 30.
44. Aibak, Aap Biti, p. 81.
45. Sarwar, Sat Sal, p. 33.
46. 'Abdul 'Ali Arghandawi, British Imperialism and Afghanistan's Struggle for Independence (1914-1921) (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1989), p. 77.
47. Ibid., p. 136.
48. Aibak, Aap Biti, p. 62.
49. Ibid.
50. Qusuri, Mushahidat-i Kabul, p. 19.
51. Leon B. Poullada, Reform and Rebellion in Afghanistan 1919-1929, King Amanullah's Failure to modernize a Tribal society (London: Cornell University Press, 1973) p. 35.
52. Sarwar, Sat Sal, p. 34.
53. Aibak, Aap Biti, p. 62.
54. Qusuri, Mushahidat-i Kabul, pp. 12-13.
55. Aibak, Aap Biti, p. 59.
56. Arghandawi, p. 79.
57. Qusuri, Mushahidat-i Kabul, p. 30.
58. Muhammad Sharif Pakrai, Hukumat-i Muwaqqata-i Hind, p. 74.
59. Louis Dupree, Afghanistan, p. 434.
60. Ibid.

61. M.N. Roy's Memoris, Reprint, (Delhi: Ajanta Publications 1984), p. 289. An Afghan Scholar Sayyid Qasim Reshtia claims that he had a meeting with Pratap in 1972 at Tokyo when Reshtia was an ambassador of Afghanistan to Japan. Reshtia had arranged an art exhibition which included a film on Afghanistan named "Sawarkaran" which highlighted the Afghan festival of Buz Kashi. The purpose of this musical programme which had been attended by Pratap was to raise funds for Afghanistan which had been stricken by terrible drought in 1972. Pratap had come to Japan in order to sell his property there and then invest the money partly in Afghanistan which he considered as his second home and partly in India. The money thus gained from these investment would be spent on education, training and other activities related to social welfare in the two countries. (Sayyid Qasim Reshtia, "Mulaqat Ba Yak Shakhsiyat Mashhoor Bainul Milali" Weekly Wufa Peshawar: 31 December, 1995, p. 3.
62. Ajoy Ghosh, Articles and Speeches (Moscow: Publishing House for Oriental Literature, 1962), p. 24.
63. Aibak, Aap Biti, p. 92.
64. Duprec, Afghanistan, p. 434.
65. Ibid., p. 435.
66. Arghandawi, p. 79.
67. Mihr, p. 494.
68. Ibid.
69. Aibak, p. 83.
70. Ibid., p. 84.
71. Laghari, p. 166.
72. Qusuri, p. 20.

73. Ibid., p. 21.
74. Popullada, p. 37.
75. Ibid.
76. Sarwar, Sat Sal, p. 14.
77. Ibid., p. 43.
78. Aibak, p. 92.
79. The Hindu Mahasabha was an organization of the Hindus which came into being in 1906. The Prime architects of this organization were Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Shri C.Y. Chintamani. It appears that the Hindu Mahasabha was a reaction to the establishment of the Muslim League which had also been founded in the same year. When the Muslim League demanded separate electorate for the Muslims, the Hindu nationalist leaders and a few nationalist Muslims strongly opposed this demand. They pointed out the harmful consequences of this demand as well as of giving larger representation to the minorities than their numerical strength warranted. The Hindu Mahasabha desired to establish Hindu Rashtra in India, that is, a country where Hindu culture and traditions will be protected and promoted (Sharma, pp. 90-91).
80. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was known for his Hindu nationalist aspirations. He was a great educationist and a Hindu social reformer. He was twice elected the president of the Indian national Congress. Also, he was twice elected the president of the Hindu Mahasabha. He was a member of the central legislature. He was also the member of the Swarajist party. When Malaviya came to realize that the Indian national Congress was not protecting the interests of the Hindus, he organized the Nationalist party. He was the editor of the Hindustan Times and the Indian Union. The establishment of the Banaras Hindu University is reckoned his greatest contribution (Sharma, p. 138).
81. Sarwar, Sat Sal, p. 44.

82. Aibak, p. 98.
83. Muhammad Sharif Pakrai, p. 91.
84. Ibid., p. 92.
85. Ibid., p. 93.
86. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, p. 177.
87. M.N. Roy's Memoirs, p. 290.
88. Virendranath Chattopadhyaya belonged to the Indian revolutionary Committee of Berlin. From a fanatic Hindu, he had become an anarchist. (M.N. Roy's Memoirs p. 291). He was the brother of Sarojini Naidu (1879-1949), a great poet and nationalist leader of India. Naidu was the first Indian woman to become the president of the Indian national Congress. (Sharma, pp. 153-1540).
89. M.N. Roy's Memoirs, p. 289.
90. Ibid. However, Pratap claims in his life story that he met with the German Chancellor Kaiser Wilhelm II. This meeting lasted for 20 minutes. During the meeting both the men were standing. The Kaiser did not ask Pratap to sit. Mr. Zimmerman, the Vice-Minister for foreign affairs who had arranged this meeting, was standing to Pratap's left side at some distance (Mahendra Pratap, My Life Story of Fifty Five Years, December 1886 to December 1841 (Dehrandun India: World Federation, 1947), pp. 41-42).
91. Laghari, p. 45.
92. Aibak, p. 99. After the failure of the Turkish-German mission, when Pratap left Afghanistan, the Afghan Government intensified its restrictions upon the associates and students of Sindhi. Two of them namely, 'Abdur Rashid and Muhammad Hasan Yaqub left for Yaghistan and settled with the mujahidin whereas the remaining persons were put in house arrest. Prior to leaving Afghanistan, Pratap wanted

to initiate correspondence with his brother stationed at Switzerland and seek the help of Sindhi. The latter asked his step-son Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Ali, who had accompanied him from India to Afghanistan, to take the letters of Pratap to his hometown at Hathras. Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Ali accomplished this dangerous task successfully and returned to Kabul.

93. Hajjan, p. 51; My Life Story of Fifty Five Years, p. 54.
94. Ibid., p. 52.
95. Ibid. p. 53.
96. Aibak, p. 101.
97. Ibid., p. 102.
98. Ibid., p. 103.
99. Ibid., p. 104.
100. Ibid., p. 107.
101. Khidhr Humayun, The Emergence of Socialist Thought, p. 22.
102. Muhammad Sharif Pakrai, p. 104.
103. Ibid.
104. P.C. Bamford. p. 124.
105. Aibak, p. 111.
106. P.C. Bamford. p. 124.
107. Laghari, p. 116.
108. Aibak, p. 114.
109. Ibid.

110. Laghari, p. 82.
111. I.H. Qureshi, Ulama in Politics, p. 250.
112. Muhammad Ali, A Short History of Afghanistan, p. 30
113. Mukherji, p. 49.
114. Ibid.
115. Ibid.
116. Muhammad Ali, p. 30.
117. Mukherji, p. 49. The following day his dead body was brought to Jalalabad and buried there (Abdul Khaliq Khaleeq, Da Azadai Jang (Peshawar: Idara Ishaat-i Sarhad. 1972), p. 16.
118. Louis Dupree, p. 435.
119. Ibid. p. 437.
120. M.N. Roy's Memoirs, p. 492.
121. Ibid.
122. Ibid.
123. Ibid., p. 289.
124. Aibak, p. 131.
125. Ibid.
126. Aibak, Khatirat, pp. 128-129.
127. Mukherji, p. 50.
128. Ibid.
129. Ibid.

130. Dupree, p. 441.
131. Mukherji, p. 51.
132. Muhammad Ali p. 31.
133. Ibid.
134. The first world war infused a new life into India's struggle for freedom. However, contrary to the expectations of the national leaders, the Government introduced in February 1919 into the legislative council two bills popularly known as Rowlatt bills to deal with "anarchical offenses in an expeditious manner". (Jagolish Sharma, p. 232). The Times of march 20, 1919, proclaimed the protests against the Rowlatt bill "as part of the Bolshevik plan to raise revolution in India" (M.A. Persits, p. 32).
135. Jallianwala Bagh massacre took place on 13 April, 1919 that is three weeks prior to the third Anglo-Afghan war. Jallianwala is situated in the heart of Amritsar City (Punjab, India). There, Brigadier General Dyer, with a view to exhibit the mighty British power opened fire on a peaceful procession consisting of 20,000 men women and children. It is estimated that 1600 rounds were fired till the ammunition ran out. The official statistics put the number of dead at more than 400 and of the wounded at 2000. Others have claimed the casualties were much higher than that (Sharma, p. 110).
136. Aibak, p. 206.
137. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, India As I knew it, p. 309.
138. Aibak, p. 140; Khatirat, pp. 137-138.
139. Sarwar, Sat Sal, p. 69.
140. Poullada, p. 246.
141. India As I knew it, p. 312.



142. Mukherji, p. 53.
143. Laghari, p. 189.
144. Aibak, p. 146.
145. Mukherji, p. 53.
146. Nadir Khan rose to prominence in the third Afghan war. He was the commander of the Southern front. Whereas the Afghans did not gain much success at other fronts, Nadir Khan captured Thal, situated on the periphery of the British India. Since the Afghan government was no comparison to the British government which had recently emerged victorious from the first world war, the loss of Thal from their hands was considered a great success of the Afghans. France gave it much publicity. The prestige of the British diminished in Europe. (Rais Ahmad Jafari, Awraq-Gum Gashta, p. 807).
147. Mihru, Sarguzasht-i mujahindin, p. 656; Naqsh-i Hayat, p. 595.
148. Naqsh-i Hayat, p. 596.
149. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, India As I knew it, p. 312.
150. Ibid.
151. Mukherji, p. 54.
152. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, India As I knew it, p. 1313.
153. Mukherji, Afghanistan, p. 53.
154. Muhammad Ali, A Short History of Afghanistan, p. 31.
155. Sarwar, Ifadat Wa Malfuzat-i Mawlana<sup>s</sup> Ubayd Allah Sindhi, p. 47.

156. Ali Khan Paktiyar, Da Khpalwakai Jagra (Kabul: Da Afghanistan Da Ulumu Academy, 1368 A.H.) p. 63.
157. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, p. 310.
158. Sawar, Sat Sal, p. 72.
159. Hajjan, p. 82.
160. Ibid.
161. Ibid., p. 83.
162. Ibid., Madani Naqsh-i Hayat, p. 594.
163. Shaukat Usmani, Peshawar to Moscow, p. 4.
164. Ibid., p. 5.
165. Aibak, p. 209.
166. Laghari, p. 199.
167. Aibak, p. 110. <sup>c</sup>Abdul Ghaffar Khan (1890-1988) and his brother Dr. Khan Sahib had set up reception centres from Peshawar to Dhaka for the service of the emigrants who were given free food and accommodation. The Hindus and Sikhs also participated in the Hijrat. From Peshawar to Kabul, there was a flood of people visible throughout the route. (Laghari, p. 200).
168. Laghari, p. 200.
169. Ibid.
170. Ibid.
171. Mukherji, p. 56.
172. Ibid. p. 57.
173. Aibak, p. 225.

174. Naqsh-i Hayat, p. 595.
175. Ibid.
176. Ibid.
177. Sarwar, Sat Sal, p. 155.
178. Sarwar, Ifadat Wa Malfuzat, p. 47.
179. Sarwar, Sat Sal, p. 106.
180. Ibid., p. 128; Aibak, p. 250.
181. Sarwar, Ifadat Wa Malfuzat, p. 48.
182. Aibak, p. 189.

CHAPTER THREEMAWLANA ʿUBAYD ALLAH'S MISSION TO SOVIET  
RUSSIA**I**

In the previous chapter, we discussed ʿUbayd Alla's mission to Afghanistan and his activities there. Apparently, his presence in Afghanistan was beneficial for that country; however, it would appear that, to all intents and purposes, he did not gain anything from his friendship with King Amanullah. The latter exploited the anti-British aspirations and stick-to-itiveness of ʿUbayd Allah and secured complete independence for Afghanistan during the third Anglo-Afghan war. There is abundant evidence that ʿUbayd Allah inflated the jingoistic tendencies of Amanullah and pitted a small country of 8 million population against a huge country of 200 million<sup>1</sup>; this fact by itself was by no means a small accomplishment. Nonetheless, from the treaty of Rawal Pindi in August 1919, till the last treaty which Amanullah signed with the British in November 1921, the Afghan monarch left his ally i.e. ʿUbayd Allah, in the lurch. It appears that since Amanullah was not sure about the ultimate outcome of these treaties, he toyed with ʿUbayd Allah and his associates by promising them false assurances

such as the establishment of an Indian Urdu University at Kabul. However, when he extracted concessions from the British in the wake of the permanent treaty, the services of ‘Ubayd Allah, so it would appear, were no longer needed. It has been suggested that the British conditioned the approval or grant of concessions to Amanullah with the expulsion of the Indian revolutionaries from Afghanistan, more specifically Sindhi and his associates.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, Amanullah stopped the activities of the provisional Government after having signed the last treaty of friendship with the British and expelled the Indian revolutionaries from Kabul.<sup>3</sup> The Afghan Government refused Sindhi's proposal to establish an Indian Urdu University at Kabul; had this proposal been accepted, it would have gone a long way in the education of Afghans and in making Afghanistan a better place to live in. These developments, alongwith several others which have been explained in the previous chapter, made Sindhi disillusioned and disappointed and he decided to leave Afghanistan for Soviet Russia.<sup>4</sup>

## II

‘Ubayd Allah had already forged contacts with Russia since the days of Amir Habibullah. The provisional Government had dispatched two delegations to Tsarist Russia in 1916; the first one

in March-April and the second one in August-September.<sup>5</sup> These delegations were geared to urge Tsarist Russia to break her alliance with Great Britain and to help either in the Afghan-Indian action against Britain or to remain neutral.<sup>6</sup> Mawlana Sindhi had dispatched one of his students, namely, Khushi Muhammad alias Muhammad 'Ali with the first mission which had returned safely to Kabul. The second mission was stopped at Termiz; the officials were arrested by the Tsarist authorities of Turkistan and handed over to the British Consular General at Mashad.<sup>7</sup> Secondly, after the Bolshevik revolution in 1917, Sindhi dispatched Muhammad 'Ali to Tashqand early in 1920. The purpose of this dispatch was to find out the state of affairs existing in the Soviet Russia and to explore the possibilities of the Soviet assistance in the liberation of India. After the Bolshevik revolution, Russia had broken up her alliance with Britain. V.I. Lenin (1870-1924) the main actor in the so-called October revolution preached and propagated the slogan of the "nations right to self determination".<sup>8</sup> Obviously, this slogan ringed favourably to the inhabitants of India who groaned under the iron-yoke of British imperialism. Since Britain feared that Soviet Russia was masterminding the disturbances in India, hostilities began between the two countries. For this reason, Sindhi felt

intrigued to capitalize on these hostilities and seek the help of Soviet Russia in the freedom of India.

The third time when ‘Ubayd Allah got in touch with the Soviet Russia was during the era of Amanullah Khan. When the latter became the King of Afghanistan, that country did not enjoy diplomatic relations with other countries. Therefore, in order to forge these relations with Russia and other European countries, a delegation under the headship of General Muhammad Wali Khan was sent to Russia. Muhammad Wali Khan was the same person who had informed Amanullah of the murder of Habibullah through a telephone from the parao station of Bowli, near Jalalabad.<sup>9</sup> General Wali Khan was a foreign minister in 1919. Sardar Ghulam Siddiq Khan was his secretary. Later, Ghulam Siddiq Khan was appointed foreign minister and Wali Khan was exalted to the post of the prime minister of Afghanistan.<sup>10</sup> The younger nephew of Sindhi, namely, ‘Aziz Ahmad was also sent with the delegation to Russia. ‘Aziz Ahmad reached Moscow; learnt the Russian language and studied for some time at the University of the Asiatic Toilers of the East. A description of this University will occupy us later in this chapter. Later, ‘Aziz Ahmad returned to Kabul with the members of the delegation. A second delegation was also sent to

Russia under the leadership of Mawlana Muhammad Miyan alias Mawlana Mansoor Ansari, a companion of Sindhi and co-author of the silk-letters. An Afghan youth Muhammad Gul also accompanied this mission.

Besides, other friends of Sindhi and members of the provisional Government such as Raja Mahendra Pratap and Mawlana Barakatullah Bhopali had preceded Sindhi to visit Russia. Reportedly, both Bhopali and Pratap met Lenin in May 1919 and discussed with him the problem of the freedom of India.<sup>11</sup> Of these two men, Barakatullah, who was a member of the Muslim League and the Indian national Congress simultaneously, stayed in Soviet Russia as an unofficial representative of Afghanistan. He was first received by Lenin on 7 March, 1919.<sup>12</sup> Apart from Bhopali and Pratap who also considered himself an unofficial representative of Afghanistan,<sup>13</sup> Maulvi 'Abdur Rabb, an Indian traders and a South Indian Hindu, namely, Acharya also met Lenin in the spring of 1919. These people lived in Moscow for nine month.<sup>14</sup> Barakatullah, though a staunch Muslim, nevertheless sought to prove that the main propositions of Communism and Islam, were identical.<sup>15</sup> During his stay in Moscow, he is reported to have written a pamphlet on the theme of Communism and Muslim



nations. This pamphlet was translated into several Eastern languages. It is said that the publication of this booklet played an enormous role in the propagation of Bolshevik ideas in the Soviet Russia, India and the Middle East.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, in another speech Barakatullah said, "Socialism is good for them (the people of the East); they must defend it and must join forces with the Bolshevik contingents and drive the English usurpers out of their countries".<sup>17</sup> The utterance of this statement and a host of others by a Mawlana means that in their frenzy of anti-Britishness and Anglophobia the Indian revolutionaries had developed such a strong liking for the Soviet Union that they were ready to make any compromise between religion and atheistic Communism which was a great foe of religion in general.

While still in Kabul, Mawlana Sindhi had done enough spade work to contact the Russian officials themselves. For instance, Sindhi had developed good relations with Fedor F. Raskolnikov, Lenin's envoy to Kabul in early 1920,<sup>18</sup> through Khushi Muhammad and Mr. Reisner, the brother-in-law of the said envoy, who was the first secretary in the Russian embassy at Kabul.<sup>19</sup> Similarly he had also established friendly relations Mr. Soritz, the first Soviet envoy to Kabul and the predecessor of

Raskolnikow, through Khushi Muhammad. One day Soritz visited Sindhi's residence at Kabul and hold conversation with him on issues related to India. What actually transpired between the two men in concrete terms is not clear; however, the meeting is said to have lasted for more than one hour.<sup>20</sup>

Muhammad Sarwar (1906-1983) opines that 'Ubayd Allah's tilt towards Soviet Russia and his messianic expectations from that country are traceable to the time when the Ottoman Caliphate was totally defeated and its capital Istanbul was occupied by the British forces in 1918. This event led 'Ubayd Allah to the conclusion that the emancipation of India alongwith other Muslim countries from the iron clutches of Britain was not possible without joining hands with Soviet Russia.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, Sarwar asserts that 'Ubayd Allah had been influenced by the socialist Revolution. Even though he remained an Indian nationalist till the last, his was the type of nationalism which fostered socialism and considered it as the only way to progress and freedom not only for India but also for other nations like her.<sup>22</sup>

### III

The Bolshevik revolution brought about by V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky (1879-1940) in Russia in 1917 had engendered great

expectations among the anti-Imperialist Indian revolutionaries. Apparently, these revolutionaries who, for all practical purposes, did not gain anything from their alliance with Germany but who, nevertheless, were not prepared to give up this alliance as yet, were coming round the idea in mid-1917 that they must co-operate with the Bolsheviks.<sup>23</sup> Like Berlin previously, the revolutionaries from the world had converged in the Soviet republic. There were at least one million citizens of China, Korea, India, Iran and Turkey in the Soviet Union in 1917 through 1920.<sup>24</sup> In the leadership of Lenin, the Soviet Union had become a dream-land for these revolutionaries and adventurers from around the globe.<sup>25</sup> Moscow was like Makkah for them who had agglutinated there and were 'girding up their loins' to combat the British Imperialism.

As far as the revolutionaries from India were concerned, they were of different denominations and backgrounds. Some of them had reached the Soviet Republic in connection with the Caliphate movement. The purpose of this group was to help Turkey in her war with the Allies. Another section of the emigrants did not have Turkey in their scheme of things. Their only ambition was to reach the Soviet Republic. But what was it that had dragged them

to Russia? In response to this question, majority of them---about 45 men--- gave the following answers,

“To work for the benefit of the Indian revolution” or “To serve the Indian revolution” or “For the liberation of India” or “To fight England” or “To serve my native land”.<sup>26</sup> Another group which consisted of 17 people gave the following reasons for the visit to Russia, “To ask for aid”, “In search of aid from the Soviet authorities”.<sup>27</sup> Seven persons declared that they had come to Russia “To join the revolution or “To conduct revolutionary work” or as the 20-years-old Shaukat ‘Usmani replied, “To join the revolutionary movement”. Eight persons gave answers like this, “In order to get military training and learn propaganda work”. Five declared that they wanted “To study the Bolsheviks” or “To learn to make a revolution” or as the 50-years-old ‘Abdus Subhan said, “Indian revolutionaries wanted to learn a lesson from the Russian Revolution” or as the 42-years-old Sabdar Khan said, “to study the Russian revolution and find the ways for the Indian revolution to follow”.<sup>28</sup> ‘Abdur Rabb Barq, (1875-1960) the leader of the Indian Revolutionary Association wrote to Georgy Chicherin

(1872-1936) the Soviet foreign minister, on July 29, 1921 that it was not because of the good living conditions that his Association had arrived in the Soviet Republic, for, the Indians could "live far better outside Russia than inside. The only thing that attracted Indian revolutionaries about Russia was her revolutionary spirit, her proximity to India and her revolutionary schools to train young revolutionaries".<sup>29</sup> In another letter addressed to the Executive Committee of the Communist International 'Abdur Rabb wrote on 8 May 1921 that "the peoples of India have taken a liking for the Soviet Government because it is an enemy of Britain and a partisan of the principle of self-determination".<sup>30</sup> One person said that he came to Russia after deserting the English army; whereas another said that he was on his way back home from Turkey.<sup>31</sup>

Besides, Soviet Russia was the only country in the world which was impervious to the British Imperialism and where the revolutionaries could carry out their anti-Imperialistic work freely without the fear of arrest and persecution by the British colonial authorities. Almost every Muslim country was under the direct or indirect British or European Imperialistic Yoke.<sup>32</sup> The

revolutionaries based at Soviet Russia were supposed to take the new found gospel of Communist ideology to their respective countries and "spread the good news around"<sup>33</sup> as it were. Furthermore, since the Bolshevik revolution, contrary to the predictions of Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedreich Engels (1820-1895), did not succeed to take roots in the industrially advanced West European countries, Lenin turned his attention to the East.<sup>34</sup> Besides, in Better Fewer but Better Lenin wrote, "The final victory of socialism [was] fully and absolutely assured by virtue of the fact that Russia, India and China etc. the countries which constitute the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe had been completely drawn into the struggle for its emancipation".<sup>35</sup> One way of bringing about world revolution was to weaken imperialistic powers by encouraging national revolts.<sup>36</sup>

It was with a view to radicalize this objective that the Soviet Government encouraged Muslims to rise in armed rebellion against Britain. This is exemplified by the fact that on December 3, 1917, the Council of people's commissars published an "Appeal to all the working Muslims of Russia and the East". The wording of this appeal was very inflammatory. This document ran like this: "Now, when war and chaos are shaking the old world to its foundations,

when the whole world is fired with resentment against the imperialist robbers, when every spark of indignation becomes transformed into a mighty flame of revolution, when even the Indian Muslims, oppressed and tormented by a foreign yoke, are rising in revolt against their enslavers, it is impossible to remain silent. Lose no time and shake the ancient conquerors of your land from your back!..... That is your right, for, your destiny is in your own hands".<sup>37</sup>

Information as regards the revolutionary situation in Europe trickled to India through the Kabul based revolutionaries about whom a certain Russian scholar has the following comments to offer. "It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the Kabul group and its activities. It played an enormous role in providing India with truthful information about the revolutionary situation in Europe. According to the book by Cecil Kaye, Chief of the British Intelligence in India, Communism in India, the colonial administration was watchful of every move of the Indian revolutionary émigré groups, which it rightly regarded as the bearers of an anti-colonialist ideology. The thoroughness with which the British strove to root out the shootings of this ideology from Indian soil reflected their realization of the true scope of the

looming danger. Even then the more far-sighted among the colonialists saw that the struggle for national liberation was only one step away from the struggle for social emancipation".<sup>38</sup>

#### IV

The centre of attraction and hullabaloo which was initially Berlin and from where it had been shifted to Kabul was now taken to Tashqand, "the city of stones", where the Indian revolutionaries converged. At Tashqand, the Bolsheviki had established an Eastern University for the Asiatic Toilers of the East in 1920. It had a student body of 622 by the end of that year; the following year this number swelled to 933 and in the early 1924 1015 students were attached to this institution.<sup>39</sup> The main objective of this University was to train nationalists as revolutionaries.<sup>40</sup> It was more of a propaganda centre than a University M.N. Roy was the head of the Indian department in the Eastern University. Furthermore, Roy was also the head of the Indian Communist party founded by him at Tashqand in December 1920.<sup>41</sup> He ran the affairs of this party for several years and became the friend of 'Ubayd Allah.<sup>42</sup> As mentioned above, Sindhi had dispatched his student Khushi Muhammad alias Muhammad 'Ali to Tashqand early in 1920. Khushi Muhammad met with Roy and then went to Moscow where



he met some leaders of the comintern<sup>43</sup> or Communist International, an organization instituted by Lenin in 1919 with the avowed intention of bringing about Communist revolutions in other countries through the help of workers. He studied Communist literature and joined the Communist party of Russia. Khushi Muhammad was the chief agent of Roy in Europe.<sup>44</sup> Pratap claims that Khushi Muhammad got an important post in the third international.<sup>45</sup> He also did some secretarial job for the Comintern in Moscow.<sup>46</sup> He had been told at Moscow to keep in touch with the Soviet embassy at Kabul; furthermore, he had been instructed to give as much financial assistance to Mawlana Sindhi in Kabul as he needed for his national cause.<sup>47</sup> However, after Khushi Muhammad's conversion, Sindhi became very cautious in dealing with him. Sindhi told Aibak that he should not discuss certain issues in the presence of Khushi Muhammad.<sup>48</sup> This obviously meant that Khushi Muhammad was doing espionage work for the Russians. 'Ubayd Allah says that Khushi Muhammad had Joined the Communist party a few days prior to his (Sindhi's) departure from Kabul. After his conversion to Communism, our formal association ceased to exist. Only friendship and love [for Khushi Muhammad] remained.<sup>49</sup>

When ‘Ubayd Allah Sindhi decided to leave Afghanistan for Soviet Russia, he asked the Afghan Government for a passport for himself as well as for his associates, a group of nine persons in all. Apart from ‘Ubayd Allah, the group included Khushi Muhammad alias Muhammad ‘Ali; Dr. Noor Muhammad who had reached Kabul via the mujahid camp, Iqbal Shaidai (1888-1974), ‘Umar Zafar Masood, ‘Abdur Rashid and ‘Abdul ‘Aziz. The last four persons had reached Kabul during the Hijrat movement. Besides, a Hindu teacher of Habibiya school, namely, Sibnath Banerji also wished to join the delegation as an adventurer.<sup>50</sup> Aibak maintains that the Afghan Government desired to keep Dr. Noor Muhammad and Aibak back in Afghanistan but both of them declined the good offer in the following words. “When our elders are not permitted to do political work, we can not stay here and serve the Afghan Government. For, we have not come here to make money. On the contrary, we came here to work for the freedom of our country”.<sup>51</sup>

On receiving passports, Aibak sold away his horse for 53 pounds with the intention of making money for the journey. Khushi Muhammad had money on him which he had obtained from the Russian officials whose cause he was promoting not only in India

and Afghanistan but also elsewhere in Europe. Dr. Noor Muhammad had saved money from his medical practice. Similarly, Iqbal shahidai and ʿAbdur Rashid had saved money by doing translation work at the office of Jamal Pasha at Kabul. Banerji had accumulated money from his salary at Habibiya school. ʿAbdul ʿAziz was under the financial patronage of Khushi Muhammad whereas Iqbal Shaidai bore the expenses of ʿUmar Zafar Masood. Only ʿUbayd Allah and his nephew ʿAziz Ahmad were resourceless.<sup>52</sup> However, his students, particularly Aibak catered for the financial needs of the Mawlana and had put before him all his belongings. Allah Nawaz Khan could not go with this delegation as he had married the daughter of ʿAbdur Rahman, the former Mihtar of Chitral.<sup>53</sup>

Khushi Muhammad obtained the Russian visa for Sindhi and his entourage. He had already been to Moscow and was aware of the situation maintaining there. Despite the fact that he had become a member of the Russian Communist party, nevertheless, because of his former services, Sindhi supported him at Kabul. As a matter of fact, after embracing the Communist ideology Khushi Muhammad lived in Afghanistan only on the assurance and guarantee of Sindhi which he had given to the Afghan Government.

At Kabul, Khushi Muhammad acted as an agent of the Soviet Russia. In fact, it has been suggested that one of the factors which contributed to the expulsion of Sindhi from Kabul was his association with, and his patronage of, Khushi Muhammad.<sup>54</sup> Mawlana Sindhi had given a warning to the Afghan Government to the effect that if Khushi Muhammad was driven out from Afghanistan, he would also leave that country. Now when circumstances compelled Sindhi to leave Afghanistan, it was not possible for Khushi Muhammad to stay behind in Kabul. Aibak holds that because of Khushi Muhammad's association with the Soviet Russia, 'Ubayd Allah hoped that he would be helpful for him in Moscow. However, as things turned out, he was not that helpful as Sindhi had expected.<sup>55</sup>

## VI

The band of Mawlana Sindhi left Kabul on Sunday, 15 October, 1922. Laghari, however, claims that the actual departure took place a week later, that is, on 22 October, 1922. In Laghari's opinion this delay had been occasioned by King Amanullah who contemplated over the route which he would approve for the band. Instead of taking the general highway leading to Mazar Sharif, the central city of Afghani Turkistan, and passing through Bamyan,

famous for the two statues of Buddha traceable to the times of Ashoka, an unbeaten path was chosen for Sindhi and his group. This path was not only hazardous but also difficult to traverse. Aibak opines that the track was a deserted one and no caravan of horses or mules had treaded it before. Only pedestrian travellers would beat it occasionally, crossing the Hindu Kush and entering the Afghani Turkistan.<sup>56</sup>

The selection of this hard and difficult route in preference to the general highway leading to Soviet Russia has been interpreted to mean that Amanullah did not wish 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi to meet Sardar Nadir Khan who was then stationed at Qataghan in the province of Badakhshan, the land of the Nightingales, as the head of the administrative department. Laghari says that Amanullah had sent him there to collect taxes.<sup>57</sup> Nadir Khan's younger brother, Sardar Hashim Khan, who later became the prime minister of Afghanistan during the kingship of Nadir Khan, had shortly returned to Kabul from his gubernatorial assignment at Jalalabad and he informed Nadir Khan about 'Ubayd Allah's journey to Russia. Consequently, Nadir wrote to Aibak that prior to their departure, both Sindhi and Aibak should see him for the last time. Furthermore, Nadir Khan wrote that Sindhi's delegation should go

to Russia via Qataghan. Against this background, the Afghan Government ensured that Sindhi should not see Nadir Khan in route to Russia. It was feared that in the event of the supposed meeting, Nadir Khan might prevail upon Sindhi to stay back in Afghanistan. Aibak has given two more possible reasons as to why Amanullah did not wish Sindhi to meet with Nadir Khan. First, to compel Sindhi to give up politics and settle quietly in Afghanistan. When the Afghan Government failed in this respect, she resorted to create hurdles in his journey. Secondly, by taking the dangerous path, the delegation might be surprised, it was hoped, by dacoits and forced to retreat to Kabul.<sup>58</sup> As for the differences between Amanullah and Nadir Khan by virtue of which the two men were holding different opinions on Sindhi, Laghari claims that Nadir Khan had become disgruntled with Amanullah at the time of the peace conference between Afghanistan and British India. Nadir Khan wanted to lead the delegation to India, but contrary to his aspirations, Amanullah assigned the task to Tarzi.<sup>59</sup> The rest is a plain story.

## VII

After having travelled through a difficult terrain, impassable valley and cold climate, Mawlana Sindhi's entourage reached

Mazar Sharif after a week long journey. Horses and mules were employed during this travel. The next day, that is on 23 October 1923, they set their foot on the Soviet territory. In order to reach the modern city of pattagissar the historical or ancient name of which is Termiz, the hometown of Imam Termizi (824-894), a famous traditionist of classical times, the band had to cross Oxus. The plan was that from Termiz, they will catch a train which will take them to the "holy land" passing through Bukhara, Samarqand and Tashqand. However, at Termiz, the party came to realize that there was no rail track at Termiz as the same had been destroyed by the Basmachis---the anti-Soviet Muslim militant group which had risen in armed revolt in Russian Turkistan against Soviet usurpation of their land. The party of Sindhi was told that at the city of Kurki or Karshi situated at a distance of four days journey from Termiz, they will be able to catch a train. But then they had to reach Karshi via a ship as travelling through land route was considered dangerous in view of the possible attack by the Basmachis.<sup>60</sup>

On 23 October 1922, 'Ubayd Allah's party took foodstuff for three days and, putting their luggage in a ship, left the city of Pattagissar for Kurki or Kashi. They had calculated that on the

fourth day the party would reach Karshi. However, contrary to their expectations the journey was a bit lengthier and instead of the fourth day the party reached their destination on the 7th day. This means that the party must have experienced some hardship in the items of foodstuff. After having disembarked on the bank of the river, the party hired a bullock cart, loaded it with the luggage and headed towards the railway station where they reached in two hours. While going to the railway station, the entourage of Sindhi had to cross a forest in the midst of which stood a Russian soldier doing the duty of a guard. Aibak has drawn a grim portrayal of this soldier. He says that the man had put on dirty and dingy clothes and from his hollow cheeks it appeared that he was starving for a week. Obviously, the soldier was underfed and undernourished. In fact, says Aibak, this was the condition of the entire military group to which this man belonged. In view of this poor condition of the military, Aibak speculates that had a powerful force invaded Russia at that time, it could have saved not only the Soviet Central Asia but also the entire Soviet Union from the horrors and devastation of the Bolshevik revolution. But then, he surmises further, it was the will of God to chastise the world by the scourge of the Communists in the decades to come.<sup>61</sup>



At Kurki, Sindhi and his group took a train bound for Bukhara. The members of the delegation were given second class tickets. Aibak has given a description of Russian trains in those days which, he says, were different from the Indian trains. There were two types of compartments in these trains. One type contained soft cushions and were called Lekhi (soft) in Russian language, these were considered first class. The second category of compartments did not have soft cushions and were called Tverdi (hard); these were counted as second class.<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, each compartment had a capacity or space for four passengers. At night, two passengers would sleep on each side, one on the upper berth and the other one on the lower berth. Mawlana Sindhi, Aibak and Dr. Noor Muhammad travelled in one compartment while the rest of their companions travelled in other compartments.<sup>63</sup>

The train reached Bukhara after a journey of one day and two nights. It should be pointed out that since Sindhi had established his bonafides and credentials with the Russian authorities by virtue of his being (i) a member of the Indian National Congress (ii) president of the Congress Committee of Kabul and (iii) a minister in the Provisional Government of India at Kabul, he was treated as a guest of the Soviet Government

everywhere in the Soviet Russia. This being the case, 'Ubayd Allah and his companions were lodged in a big house as the guests of the Bukharan Government. This stay had been necessitated by the fact that the train bound for Moscow had no space for two days. Therefore, Sindhi and his associates had to wait for two days in a large house in Bukhara as mentioned above. During the day time, the group would have occasion to visit the city. It was at Bukhara that Mawlana Sindhi had a meeting with M.N. Roy.<sup>64</sup> Iqbal Shaidai also met Roy at Bukhara.

Aibak has given a description of the city of Bukhara in the post-Bolshevik era. He says that there was acute scarcity of foodstuff and other items of daily use. The Turkmen villagers, donning long overcoats and putting on hairy headgears which made them look dreadful, would bring a modicum quantity of eatables to the market for the purpose of selling. It appeared that the entire denizens of the city were dependent for the food upon these Turkmen villages. Chaos and uncertainty was visible everywhere. There was no system or arrangement for the discharge of garbage. After the Bolshevik revolution, the Russians had captured and taken control of the properties, houses and factories of the people. This was so because the Communist ideology did not allow people

to own private property. Each person had been lowered to the status of a labourer; he would work for the Government and get his sustenance in return. The Bolsheviks called this 'Social equality'. Thanks to the principle of social equality, there was so much shortage of houses that sometimes an entire family was compelled to live in one room. Despite the fact that the revolution was five years old, nonetheless, there was no end to chaos and confusion. The city of Bukhara which was at one time a great seat of Islamic learning and civilization and which had given birth to great scholars, philosophers, doctors and sufis such as Imam Bukhari (810-870), Ibn Sina (980-1037), and Shaikh Bahauddin Naqshband (1318-1388), the founder of the Naqshabandia order<sup>65</sup> of sufis, to mention only a few, wore a deserted and desolate look.<sup>66</sup>

One evening, while in Bukhara, Muhammad 'Ali went over to Mawlana Sindhi after evening meals and hold conversation with him as to what might be their future course of action in Russia. As mentioned before, Muhammad 'Ali had already embraced Communist ideology and now he wanted to impose that ideology on Sindhi Muhammad 'Ali told the Mawlana that until and unless his party supported the Bolsheviks, it would be impossible for them even to get bread in Russia let alone expecting any sort of political

help. Furthermore Muhammad 'Ali told the Mawlana that it was not possible for the religious minded people to live in Russia. Aibak maintains that this discourse of Muhammad 'Ali perturbed Mawlana Sindhi very much. He claims further that when he saw this attitude of Muhammad 'Ali, he visited Sindhi, gave him 52 pounds and spoke to him in the following fashion, "This amount is at your disposal. You can spend it the way you wish, whether you use it for your personal needs or for political work, it is upto you. I won't intervene in it".<sup>67</sup> Obviously the purpose of Aibak in giving this amount to Sindhi was that he wanted to make him feel secure financially so that the gloom created by the discourse of Muhammad 'Ali could be removed.

Aibak has contradicted a statement of Madani in which the latter had said that Mawlana Sindhi travelled on foot for several miles and that he had to go without food in Russia. Far be that from truth, Sindhi was a guest of the Soviet Government and neither he remained hungry in Russia nor did he travel on foot.<sup>68</sup>

Among the companions of Sindhi, 'Abdur Rashid decided to settle in Bukhara, for, at Bukhara the population of Muslims was larger than any other city of Soviet Russia. 'Abdur Rashid made this decision after having met Hafiz 'Abdul Majid who was from

Kohat and who had visited Russia prior to Sindhi's group. However, 'Abdur Rashid could not live longer in Bukhara and returned to India via Iran.<sup>69</sup>

### VIII

After a brief stay at Bukhara, which experience enabled him to visit the Islamic monuments of distant past, Mawlana Sindhi and his party headed towards Tashqand. Since the train bound for Moscow had to leave one day later, the party had to tarry in Tashqand for a day. As in Bukhara, the companions of Sindhi utilized the spare time at their disposal in visiting the streets of the city. In the days of yore, the city of Tashqand was replete with magnificent mosques, but now, it must have pained 'Ubayd Allah, many of those mosques were in ruins. They had been destroyed in the Soviet era and some were used as clubs, clinics, libraries and even warehouses.<sup>70</sup>

Tashqand literally means "the city of stones".<sup>71</sup> It was the seventh largest city of the Soviet Union.<sup>72</sup> Aibak has given an account of the city of Tashqand in those days. He says that the old part of the city was occupied by the Turkistani people whereas the new part was inhabited by Russians. The process of Russification i.e. the imposition of Russian culture, language and institutions on

the native Central Asian peoples and other non-Russian ethnic groups, had first been spearheaded by the Tsars. Large sections of people had been brought from Russia and settled in Central Asia and other regions of the U.S.S.R. where there was a sizeable population of Muslims. In particular, the Tartars of Volga were the great victims of this process which they resisted stubbornly.<sup>73</sup> Similarly, the colonization of Turkish people by immigrants from European Russia created resentment in Central Asia.<sup>74</sup> The idea of Russification was to integrate the natives and convert them into one indivisible Russian whole. When the Bolsheviks violently replaced the Tsars, the process of Russification was carried through ruthlessly and taken to its logical conclusion. Russian language was popularized in Central Asia. A law was passed to the effect that the native Central Asian languages were to be written in Russian letters. Initially, the Russians introduced Roman letters in Central Asian States. However, when Turkey also introduced Roman characters, the Bolsheviks abandoned Roman letters and opted for the Russian characters. The logic of this practice was clear. Since the Central Asian Muslims were of Turkic origin, it was apprehended that the two communities might come closer to each other by virtue of the common Roman letters. In order to

discourage this proximity or nearness, the Bolsheviks ensured that the native Central Asian languages were written in Russian letters. Similarly, since religious education was prohibited in any school in the U.S.S.R. after 1917,<sup>75</sup> it was also prohibited in Russian Turkistan. Furthermore, the history of that area was rewritten. The Russian emigrants were supported in various ways so that they could gain ascendancy over the natives. Since majority of the people of Soviet Central Asia were poor and unlettered, they were being integrated into the population of Russia. They had forgotten their history, culture and traditions.<sup>76</sup>

As mentioned earlier, an Eastern University had been established at Tashqand in order to indoctrinate the youth from various countries into Communism. These youth were then secretly dispatched to their respective countries to preach revolutionary ideas and make a propaganda for Communism. Among these people there were some Muslim youth who had migrated from India to Afghanistan from where, in view of the unsavoury conditions prevalent there, they had to emigrate to Tashqand. These revolutionary young men were being trained to bring about a Communist revolution in India. From among the emigrants from Kohat, a certain Faqir Shah, who had emigrated to Afghanistan in

1915 at the time when 15 young students from various colleges of Lahore had left that place for Kabul, stayed then at Tashqand and he met Aibak and other companions of Sindhi. Faqir Shah had travelled to Soviet Russia alongwith other emigrants and was getting training of aviation in a military school. One year later, he reached Moscow to get higher training. He was told there that he would not be permitted to seek higher training unless he embraced Communism. It appears that later he accepted this condition. He completed his education and became a teacher of aviation in Russian army.<sup>77</sup>

## IX

After a short stay at Tashqand, ‘Ubayd Allah and his band proceeded towards Moscow, situated at a distance of 3000 kilometers.<sup>78</sup> They reached their destination on 10 November 1922 after a week long journey and almost two months prior to the formation of the Soviet Union which event took place on 30 December, 1922.<sup>79</sup> Like before, this time also the expenses of the journey including rail fare were provided by the Soviet Government. Aibak says that since no canteen bogie was attached to the train the party experienced great hardship in getting food. Boiled water was available free of cost on the stations which they



would use for making tea. Furthermore, the only solid food available on the stations was black bajra bread which they would mix with the soup made from horse flesh being sold by hawkers.<sup>80</sup>

Since the Russian Government was fully aware of the anti-imperialistic proclivities of °Ubayd Allah, she gave him a befitting welcome.<sup>81</sup> Sindhi and his companions were lodged in Hotel Lux which had been reserved for foreign dignitaries. Guests of the Soviet Government which included foreign Communists and nationalists were stationed here. In addition to this category of people, this hotel was an abode of some high ranking Soviet leaders. Also, whenever members of the Communist parties belonging to other Soviet Republics visited Moscow, they would stay in Hotel Lux.<sup>82</sup>

Mawlana Sindhi and his colleagues were given a spacious room in hotel Lux. It had a wash basin but not a toilet. Rahmat °Ali Zakariya who had reached Moscow earlier than the group of Sindhi, also joined the group of the new arrivals and dwelled with it in this large room. After the reunion of Zakariya, the number of Sindhi's associates swelled to ten. Both Rahmat °Ali Zakariya and °Abdul Hameed studied at the Eastern University at Tashqand. °Abdul Hameed had reached Tashqand in connection with the

Hijrat Movement. When the Eastern University was shifted to Moscow, both these young men also reached there and began to study in the Moscow branch of the Eastern University where the level of Education was higher than the Tashqand branch. However, °Abdul Hameed preferred to live in the hostel of the Eastern University rather than joining the group of Sindhi in the hotel.

In order to keep secrecy and safety, each and every inmate of hotel Lux was issued an identity card which carried his name, photograph and date of entry into the hotel. This card also carried the stamp of the hotel. At the time of admission into the hotel each dweller was supposed to show his card to the hotel clerk. If an outsider wanted to meet a denizen of the hotel, the procedure was that first he had to tell his name and address as well as the name of the person whom he wished to meet to the hotel clerk. The clerk would then search the name of the person in the list and inform him through a phone telling him the name of the visitor who was desirous to meet him. In the event of the inmate's agreement to meet the visitor, he would tell the hotel clerk to send him up to his room. The visitor would then show his identity card and get an entry permit which was called propuska in Russian. The propuska mentioned, inter alia, the time of the visitor's entry into the hotel.

After acquiring this permit, the visitor would be given permission to meet with his host. At the time of leaving the host, the visitor would get the sign of the host on the propuska and also write the time of departure. He would then hand over this document to the clerk and get back his identity card. This procedure was in vogue in all the offices in Russia. Aibak maintains that in 1922, when the revolution was five years old, the Russians followed this elaborate and vigorous discipline, for, they feared that the conservative and anti-revolution forces might strike. In other words, since the revolution was in its infantile stage and its enemies were very many, the Soviet authorities ensured that the new system was impenetrable by resorting to such tactics as tight security, secrecy and espionage. This was about the state of affairs in 1922. However, Aibak says that in 1937, that is twenty years after the revolution, he had occasion to visit Soviet Russia and he noticed that the same old rigorous discipline was in force. From this state of affairs, Aibak draws the conclusion that the Bolsheviks were afraid of their own people and furthermore the Soviet system was not popular among the masses.<sup>83</sup> Similarly, John Gunther, an American traveller who visited Russia four times in the pre and post Stalin era had to pass the following judgement on the Soyuz

Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Republic (Russian for U.S.S.R.), “despite its weight and girth, despite its supersonic missiles and the significance of artificial moons, it is still a house of cards, which could be spilled by one swift jab”.<sup>84</sup> This comment was despite the “sputniks” and the amazing rapidity with which the Soviet empire progressed. As regards the secrecy of the Russians, the same author says that it is not possible to meet a Russian in private. Someone else must be present as a precautionary measure in addition to the interpreter.<sup>85</sup>

From among the Indians who came to meet Sindhi and his group in hotel Lux was a certain ‘Abdul Waris Butt. This young man had reached Kabul during the hullabaloo of the Hijrat Movement. From Kabul, he reached Jabal al-Siraj (the mountain of Light) where the emigrants had been placed. Confronting dissatisfaction with the situation at the Mountain of Light, Butt joined a group of 80 or 90 emigrants which left Afghanistan for Turkey via Russia. Among others, this band included Muhammad Akbar Khan Hazaravi, Fazal Ilahi Qurban and Shaukat ‘Usmani. This band entered the Soviet territory with much difficulty. There they were attacked by the Basmachis and taken as prisoners by them. Later, the caravan was released by the Russian soldiers. For

some time they stayed at Kurki where the band was divided into two groups. One group which included 'Abdul Waris Butt headed towards Turkey via Baku. About this group the Baku Council for propaganda and Action wrote the following letter to the Tashqand Sovinterprop on November 13, 1920, "35 Indian refugees from Afghanistan arrived in Baku, that all of them wanted to go only to Turkey and were an "entirely raw public" in the political sense."<sup>86</sup>

The second group headed for Tashqand where they were greeted by Roy who had been sent to Tashqand as a member of the Central Asiatic Bureau of the Comintern. However, the group which had started off for Turkey could not go beyond Baku. Being unable to go further, they returned to Tashqand from where they reached Kabul. At Kabul, 'Abdul Waris worked at the translation office started by Jamal Pasha (1861-1922) under the supervision of Iqbal Shahidai. When Jamal Pasha departed Kabul for Moscow, 'Abdul Waris also reached there in the company of Barakatullah Bhopali who had stayed on in Afghanistan after the failure of the Turkish-German mission and the departure of its members to their respective countries. When Anwar Pasha was killed in action on 15 August 1922 while fighting the Bolsheviks in Turkistan who were quelling the Basmachi uprising there,<sup>88</sup> Bhopali decided to leave

Russia for Germany and from there to Switzerland. But he could not take ʿAbdul Waris with himself for the simple reason that he did not possess proper passport. After this, Butt joined the Eastern University.<sup>89</sup> Fazal Ilahi Qurban and a certain Safdar who met Sindhi's group in hotel Lux were also students of the Eastern University. Besides, they were members of the Indian Communist party. Aibak opines that the education which these men had received in India was probably less than the middle standard. Nonetheless, they had memorized a few Communist principles which they would repeat like parrots.<sup>90</sup>

## X

A week after Sindhi's arrival in Moscow, the fourth largest city in the world and the capital of both the U.S.S.R. and RSFSR,<sup>91</sup> the Russian officials and M.N. Roy, the president of the Indian Communist party, put forward the proposal to ʿUbayd Allah through Khushi Muhammad that a few young men from the group of Sindhi should be admitted into the Eastern University. The intention of Roy was to convert a few college students to Communism through propaganda and education. Thus far, the Indian youth who had fallen into Russian hands for this task were less educated people. ʿAbdul Hameed, Rahmat ʿAli Zakariya and

Khushi Muhammad were exceptions, for they had studied at colleges. After the proposal of Roy, Sindhi instructed Aibak to enter the Eastern University. What could be the interest of a religious scholar to advise his student to study at a University which was a propaganda centre for Communism pure and simple? According to Aibak, the purpose of Sindhi was that he wanted to know the basic beliefs and practices of Communism as well as the Russian system of education. 'Ubayd Allah planned to establish such a system in independent India as would function like an anti-thesis of Communism. People in free India, it was hoped, would be so much satisfied with this system envisaged by Sindhi that they would no longer be ensnared by the deceptive but seemingly attractive slogan of Communism. Secondly, the idea was that since Communism was an enemy of religion, efforts could be made to save India from the baneful influences of Communism. This type of methodology or strategy entailed a thorough understanding of Communism itself. Thirdly, since Mawlana Sindhi intended to uproot British Imperialism from India through the help of Communists, it was imperative for him to comprehend the language of his political friends. If anything, the principles of political expediency demanded this kind of approach.

It was by virtue of these considerations that 'Ubayd Allah permitted Aibak to join the Eastern University. Consequently, he came to dwell in the boarding house which was not very far away from hotel Lux. 'Abdul 'Aziz and Banerji were also sent to the boarding house. Banerji had joined the Eastern University on his own. In his scheme of things, he wanted to save Hinduism from the influence of Communism.<sup>92</sup> Apart from Indians, there were several other young men from around the world who stayed in the boarding house of the Eastern University. For instance, there were students from Turkey, Iran, China, U.S.A., Korea, Mongolia and Russian Turkistan.<sup>93</sup>

It will be in the fitness of things, at this juncture, to have a cursory glance at the curriculum taught at the Eastern University. Simply put, this curriculum could be subsumed under the following five rubrics.

- (1) The history of labour movements in various European countries with special emphasis on the history of Russian labour movement.
- (2) The history of trade unions in different countries of Europe.



- (3) The history of the Communist party of Russia and its efforts to establish there the dictatorship of the proletariat or the Government of workers.
- (4) The history of the first, second and third Communist International.
- (5) The Communist doctrines as enunciated in Karl Marx book Das Capital (The Capital) which has been dubbed as the "Bible of the Communists".

In a nutshell, these courses constituted what may be called salient features of the Communist paradigm. The courses were designed to captivate the students of Communism to such a degree that when they returned to their respective countries, they would establish trade unions in their countries on the model of Russia. These potential revolutionaries were also supposed to lay the foundation of Communist parties in their countries and also work towards bringing about socialist revolution there by having resort to such tactics as arranging strikes, staging set-ins, capturing the institutions of their countries through conspiratorial means, establishing the proletarian Governments and finally merging these in the Russian Communist Government.<sup>94</sup>

Despite the fact that Communism has, of late, been relegated to the realm of history or of archives, nonetheless, since at one point of time it influenced the course of history and played havoc with the destiny of half the population of the globe, it will be appropriate to have a cursory glance on the nature of the Communist revolution in Russia. The Bolshevik revolution (prior to March 1918, the Communists were called Bolsheviks)<sup>95</sup> in Russia was a culmination or corollary of the philosophical doctrines of Karl Marx (1818-1883). A German Jew by birth, who walked about and grew up in Christian environment, Marx was the first famous Communist, but, to be sure, not the first one, to articulate the Communist paradigm in an elaborate, speculative, organized, and philosophical fashion. He pontificated that private property was the source of all evil in the world; as a matter of fact, it was responsible for the fall of the primordial or primeval man. This fall was analogous to the fall of Adam from paradise. Ever since the primordial man came to realize the significance of money, which concept, in the Marxian scheme, was not known to him in his primitive Communistic stage, he found himself in the vortex of an eternal class struggle. This perpetual class-struggle

between the haves and the have nots has been the lot or destiny of the entire mankind during the various phases of the manifestation of history. In other words, the history of mankind is nothing but the history of class-struggle.<sup>96</sup> This class-struggle could come to an end if private property is abolished.

The means of production such as land, factories, mines, means of transportation and all those things which assist in producing capital should not be the possession or property of a single individual or a company. On the contrary, a social class or its representative Government should be the real owners of the means of production. The land is neither the property of the peasant nor of the landlord, rather, it should be construed as the property of the workers or the proletarian class.<sup>97</sup> The capitalist class and factory owners multiply their capital by snatching from the workers the surplus value which is the difference between the value of raw material and that of finished goods.<sup>98</sup> In a capitalist society, for instance, a man works for fifty hours but receives less than fifty hour's value for his work.<sup>99</sup> Since the workers manufacture goods from raw material, the profit which is accrued in this process belongs to them. The capitalist is like a leach or a parasite who multiplies his income by sucking the blood of

workers. Taking the surplus value from the workers, produces alienation among them. This, in turn, contributes to intensifying their class-consciousness. In a highly industrialized country where the workers are united, their class-consciousness and alienation will reach the point of no return, as it were, and they will be able to turn tables on their former masters.

V.I Lenin and Leon Trotsky (1879-1940) leaders of the Russian workers espoused these doctrines of Marx and secretly established the Communist party of Russia. Taking advantage of the Russo-Japan war of 1905, the two men, in conjunction with two other opposition groups, namely, the peasant-oriented socialist revolutionary group and the group of liberals, brought about an insurrection against the Tsar. However, this joint venture proved abortive. A split had already occurred in the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party in 1903 on the occasion of the second congress of the said party held in Brussels and London. Those members of the party who were in majority were called Bolsheviks while those in minority were called Mensheviks. Lenin was the leader of the Bolsheviks whereas Julius Martov was the leader of the Mensheviks.<sup>100</sup> Some scholars have asserted that the split in the Russian Social Democratic Party, a Marxist group which had been

formed in 1898,<sup>101</sup> into Bolshevik and Menshevik took place in 1905 after the failed coup.<sup>102</sup> In any event, the abortive uprising of 1905 against the Tsar must have widened the already existing gulf between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. The former stood for a bloody revolution, for, one can not make omelettes without breaking eggs, they argued.<sup>103</sup> The latter pleaded for a wide open proletarian party which would function through legal and constitutional means. Further points of departure were that the Mensheviks were moderate and orthodox in their outlook whereas the Bolsheviks were more inclined towards radicalism and extremism.<sup>104</sup>

In the first world war the troops of the Shah-i Zind i.e. the Russian Tsar were defeated. There was a general despair and resentment among the people occasioned as it had been by the worst economic crisis and shortage of food. Housewives would stand in long ques and wait for bread, sometimes in vain. This led to street demonstrations demanding the overthrow of the monarchy and an end to the war.<sup>105</sup> Alexander Fyodorovich Kerenskiy (1881-1979), a leader of the Mensheviks, who was equally on good terms with the Bolsheviks, exploited this situation and staged a coup against the Tsar in February 1917. This coup culminated in the

demise of the centuries old Russian monarchy. In the wake of the February revolution, a Provisional Government was instituted which included labourers, tenants, landlords, factory owners and other strata of society. The last Russian Tsar i.e. Nicholas II (r. 1894-1917), nicknamed as Nicholas the Bloody<sup>106</sup> abdicated the throne in favour of his brother Grand Duke Mikhail<sup>107</sup> and himself fled to Siberia alongwith his family. Later, in July 1918 the Tsar and his family were murdered at Ekaterinburg.<sup>108</sup> Kerenskiy held important positions in the Provisional Government such as minister for justice, minister for war and finally the prime minister. The new Government of Kerenskiy which lasted only for 8 months, started a fresh offensive against Germany and pledged that the war would continue.

However, restlessness in Russia did not cease despite the overthrow of the monarchy and the formation of the Provisional Government. Furthermore, by the time of the February revolution leaders of the Petrograd workers and the revolting garrison created the Petrograd Soviet (Council) of worker's and soldier's deputies. This was a rival organization of the Provisional Government created by the dissolved members of Duma (Russian Parliament) and immediately recognized as the legal national authority.<sup>109</sup>

Lenin, who was then residing in Switzerland, dubbed the Provisional Government as a bourgeois institution. The same views were expressed by Trotsky, second to Lenin in authority,<sup>110</sup> but more expert a oratory than Lenin, who was then residing in New York. These leaders secretly reached Russia. Lenin reached Russia from Switzerland via Germany in a "sealed train".<sup>111</sup> People were so tired of the war that they joined hands with these leaders and staged a coup against the Government of Kerenskiy.

On the afternoon of 24 October, 1917, Bolshevik led soldiers, sailors and red guard detachments easily took control of the key Petrograd bridges, transport and communication facilities, public buildings and ammunition stores. On the following night i.e. 25 October, the revolutionary forces invaded the winter palace and arrested all the members of the cabinet with the exception of Kerenskiy who had fled earlier in the day. Later, the same night, deputies to the Congress of Soviets approved a historic manifesto drafted by Lenin announcing the demise of the Provisional Government and the creation of a revolutionary Soviet Socialist Government. The new administration was named the Soviet of People's Commissars.<sup>112</sup> The new Bolshevik regime signed a treaty with Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk in March, 1918.<sup>113</sup> So much

about the Russian revolution which the Indian revolutionaries desired to emulate and introduce it in their country.

## XII

Aibak says that every day in the evening he would meet Sindhi in hotel Lux and present to him summary of his lessons. This enabled the Mawlana to know about the Communist ideas, the Communist rules of Government, the labour movement and the Communist International or the Comintern for a short. For instance, one day Aibak's professor taught in the class that since religion allowed private property it was reactionary and hence needed to be effaced. Furthermore, he said that religion made the poor dependent on the rich and encouraged exploitation of the poor by the rich. Since there was obvious license in Hinduism to own private property, Banerji, a Hindu class-fellow of Aibak became skeptical about the veracity or validity of Hinduism. He enquired of Aibak whether there was a similar permission in Islam to own private property. When Aibak replied in the affirmative, Banerji remarked that both Islam and Hinduism should be obliterated from India.<sup>114</sup> Aibak took offence at this comment of Banerji and he reported this issue to Mawlana Sindhi. The Mawlana recited the following verse from the Quran, "God hath purchased of the



Believers their persons and their goods. For theirs (in return) is the Garden (of paradise).<sup>115</sup> This verse was interpreted to mean that in times of need Islam takes away from the believers the right to possess private property.<sup>116</sup> Interpreting the verses of the Quran in this manner means that Mawlana Sindhi had developed a special heremeneutical theory as regards the exegesis of the Quran. In any event, this exegesis dispelled the doubts of Aibak. Similarly, on another occasion, the professor said the following in the course of his lecture to the students, "While introducing the Soviet system, we received a stiff resistance from the farmers who desired to keep their lands as private property and were reluctant to make agricultural communes. Since no religion discouraged them to entertain the notion of private property, all religions are reactionary and need to be rejected".<sup>117</sup> As usual, Aibak went to hotel Lux in the evening and asked the Mawlana whether Islam permitted the ownership of land? The Mawlana replied in the negative. Then he cited the example of the second Caliph to prove his point. He explained that when 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab (d. 644) conquered Iran, the Arab conquerors wanted to keep the lands there as their private property. However, contrary to their wishes, the Caliph did not permit them to do so. Instead, he declared those

lands as Bait-al-Mal (Public treasury). The conquerors were given permission only to cultivate them".<sup>118</sup> The next day Aibak informed his professor about this decision of Umar. He was astonished and could not help commenting that had anyone informed them about these injunctions of Islam, their task would have become simpler. They could have easily included the farmers in their programme without receiving any resistance from them.<sup>119</sup>

Likewise, Mawlana Sindhi repudiated the famous Communist maxim i.e. that religion is the opium of the people.<sup>120</sup> This opiate is administered by those who are in high positions to preserve their power.<sup>121</sup> These statements, taken as they had been from the techniques of Karl Marx, are taken to mean that religious belief instills so much pacifism and fatalism among its adherents that they are no longer capable to demand their rights from the usurpers. In the class-struggle between the rich and the poor, religion sides with the rich and precludes the poor from demanding their rights. 'Ubayd Allah falsified this preposterous thesis and dubbed it incongruent with Islamic teachings. For example the Islamic system of inheritance tends to distribute wealth in the society rather than making it concentrated in a few hands. Similarly, Zakat (poor-due) is a tax levied upon the rich to help the

poor. The institution of Zakat is also geared to discourage the concentration of wealth in a few hands.<sup>122</sup>

In the last week of April 1923, when the academic year at the Eastern University was about to close, Sindhi alongwith Aibak and his class-mates were sent on an excursion tour to Leningrad. Sindhi also took his nephew °Aziz Ahmad. He informed Mr. Reisner, an official in the department of Far East at the Russian ministry of foreign affairs, that instead of staying in a guest house in Leningrad, Sindhi as well as his group would stay in the house of Musa Jarullah, a religious leader of Russian Muslims. A great religious scholar and political leader, Jarullah was not only popular among Russian Muslims but was also known in the Muslim world. In the early days of the Bolshevik revolution, Jarullah was incarcerated and severely tortured by the Bolsheviks. But since he did not interfere in the politics of the Bolsheviks, he was released from prison. In 1937, Jarullah went on a tour of Nejd and Yemen. He met with °Ubayd Allah during the Hajj and also studied under him.<sup>123</sup> That Jarullah had a modernist outlook is obvious from the fact that he dedicated the tafsir of the Quran, which °Ubayd Allah had dictated to him, to Mustafa Kamal Ataturk<sup>124</sup> (1881-1938), the great secularizer of Modern Turkey. Jarullah is also reported to

have travelled to Hyderabad (Deccan). But there the British did not let him to live in peace. From there he travelled to Turkey. Finally, from Turkey he travelled to Egypt where he died.<sup>125</sup> However, Muhammad Sarwar says that Jarullah had spent the last days of his life in India. During the second world war, he had been put in house arrest at the behest of the Soviet Russia.<sup>126</sup>

Mawlana Sindhi stayed as a guest in the house of Jarullah for a week. Incidentally, it was the month of fasting. It was mid-summer and the days were very long. Consequently, Sindhi had to fast for 21 hours. Situated on the bank of the river Neva, Leningrad is a beautiful city. It had been founded by Peter the Great, one of the Russian Tsars, who had spent millions of rupees on its construction. The city contains the statues of famous Russian poets and men of letters. This shows that knowledge and scholarship are greatly prized in Russia.<sup>127</sup> John Junther, author of Inside Russia Today also speaks about the avidity of Russians for reading.<sup>128</sup> Besides, the city contained the royal palace which was called summer place. As a matter of fact, the summer place was like an agglutination of magnificent buildings. The Bolsheviks converted this building into a museum where the remnants from the times of Tsar were kept on display. About 14000 masterpieces of

prominent painters could be seen decorating the walls in these palaces.<sup>129</sup>

When the group of Sindhi returned from the visit of Leningrad, it was honoured with an occasion to visit Kremlin. The Kremlin, which literally means "citadel"<sup>130</sup> is a fort which houses royal palaces and several famous churches. The tombs of certain Tsars such as Ivan the Terrible and his son whom he had murdered are situated here.<sup>131</sup> Constructed in medieval times, the Kremlin was the centre of the Russian Government. After the Bolshevik revolution, the Kremlin became the headquarter of Lenin's Soviet Government and the symbol of the Communist dictatorship.<sup>132</sup> Important dignitaries of the Russian Government as well as prominent members of the Communist party lived here.<sup>133</sup>

### XIII

After the visit to Kremlin, the stage was all set for a meeting between 'Ubayd Allah and Georgiy vasilyevich chicherin (1872-1936), the foreign minister of Soviet Russia from 1918 to 1930.<sup>134</sup> Sindhi's good student, namely, Zafar Hasan Aibak played a pivotal role in actualizing this meeting. Both Sindhi and Aibak had forged good relations with Mr. Reisner who was the first secretary in the Russian embassy at Kabul. At Moscow Aibak worked as a tutor of

Urdu to Reisner whose house he would visit twice a week for the purpose of giving him lessons. Aibak says that he did not receive any remuneration for this job. However, this job benefitted him in other ways; it enhanced the friendship between the two men. Taking advantage of this friendship, one day Aibak spoke to Reisner about Sindhi in the following Jargon. "An Indian leader has been staying in Russia for several months. He is influential not only in his own country but also in Afghanistan which he pitted against Great Britain. From among the Afghans, he has friendship with such important chiefs as General Nadir Khan. He is the president of the all India National Congress Committee of Kabul. He has also been the minister for interior in the Provisional Government of India at Kabul. Wouldn't the Russian Government help such a person in his war against Britain, the enemy of Bolshevik Russia who left no stone unturned in undoing the Bolshevik revolution by supporting such "white" (anti-Bolshevik) commanders as Alexander vasilyevich Kolchak<sup>135</sup> (1874-1920) and General Anton Ivanovich Denikin<sup>136</sup> (1872-1947)? Today a unique opportunity has Knocked at the doors of Russians. Though M.N.Roy is the president of the Indian Communist party, nevertheless, he could not succeed in spearheading any

revolutionary movement in India. On the other hand, Mawlana Sindhi is the personal friend to very many Indian leaders and politicians. He can accomplish a lot against British India if only he is assisted by the Russian Government".<sup>137</sup> Reisner was so much impressed by this discourse of Aibak that he discussed this matter with his senior officer, namely, Mr. Sukerman, head of the Central Asian department in the ministry of foreign affairs and prevailed upon him to mention this issue with Chicherin and arrange a meeting between the latter and Mawlana Sindhi. Consequently, one week later, that is, in the first week of June 1923, a meeting was arranged between Chicherin and Sindhi. The time fixed for the proposed meeting was a little later than 8. P.M. at night. Mawlana Sindhi, Aibak and Reisner arrived at the gate of the Russian foreign ministry at the appointed time. The foreign ministry was housed in a five-storey old and huge building which had been constructed from stones. At the gate stood a guard wearing a gun and lances. He demanded of the three men i.e. Sindhi, Aibak and Reisner the relevant documents and identity cards. Reisner showed him his identity card. This was enough to satisfy the guard and his officer. Since the office of Reisner too was situated inside this building where he would go to work every day, he did not face any

difficulty in taking Aibak and Sindhi inside the building. It appeared that the guard had been informed beforehand that some visitors would come to the foreign office at night. In Russia of those days the official hours were from 10 A.M. to 8. P.M. with a break for lunch from 3. P.M. to 5 P.M. people were in the habit of taking their lunch late which would enable them to work in their offices till late in the evening.<sup>138</sup>

Aibak says that having entered the building, they were taken to the second floor. Thanks to the Russian craze for discipline and security, there too stood a guard in the corridor who demanded identity cards from the three visitors. Reisner was there to satisfy him. At the end of the corridor, there was a door to the right side. As usual a guard stood there wearing weapons. He also checked the papers of Sindhi and his two companions and after making himself satisfied, permitted them to go through that door which led to the office of Chicherin. From this door they entered a room where they met Chicherin's secretary. He recognized Reisner, opened a door leading to another room where Chicherin was seated and informed him about the arrival of Sindhi. After going through and accomplishing the prescribed formalities, the three men were taken to the office of Chicherin.<sup>139</sup>



Aibak has further furnished details about the office of Chicherin. He says that the walls of the office had been decorated with pictures of Karl Marx, Engels and Lenin. The furniture was from the Tsarist times. Towards the left side of the door, Chicherin was seated in a chair with a big table in front of him. He stood up, greeted Mawlana Sindhi and his companions and asked them to be seated. Sindhi sat on the middle chair while Reisner and Aibak set towards his right and left sides respectively. The modus operandi observed in the meeting was that Reisner would translate the conversation of Chicherin from Russian into English and then Aibak would render it into Urdu to make it understandable for 'Ubayd Allah. After the preliminary negotiations, the ensuing dialogue lasted for fifteen minutes the gist of which is as follows.<sup>140</sup>

In his discourse with Chicherin, Sindhi mentioned his association with the Indian National Congress in the capacity of the president of the Congress Committee of Kabul. He said that he was willing to co-operate with Russia in the liquidation of the British rule in India. However, he argued that this co-operation would not take place through the medium of the Communist party of Russia. In contradistinction to the Communist party, Sindhi wanted to

make a treaty with the Russian Government. Chicherin was a bit taken aback by this ratiocination of Sindhi, for, in Russia nothing could be accomplished without the approval of the Communist party. Furthermore, it was the desire of Chicherin that Communism should be propagated in India.<sup>141</sup> This was in accordance with the doctrine of Trotskiy who emphasized on the internationalization of Communism as opposed to the doctrine of Joseph Stalin (d. 1953) who stood for "socialism in one country". A propaganda centre for the spread of Communism had already been established at the 'city of stones' i.e. Tashqand under the leadership of M.N. Roy. The latter would distribute money in India for this purpose. However, Sindhi explained to Chicherin in unequivocal terms that as a member of the Indian National Congress, he would not do any business with the Communist party. Since the expulsion of the British from India was beneficial for Russia, she should make a treaty with the Indian National Congress. However, Sindhi insisted, that during the course of negotiations between the two, the Communist party should not intervene.<sup>142</sup>

It appears that the approach adopted by Sindhi during his negotiations with Chicherin is best exemplified in the following

comment of Persits. "All the revolutionaries of India are unanimous in their desire to turn to Russia for help, but in accord with national aspirations and without any interference in matters of faith and Religion".<sup>143</sup> Obviously this approach was doomed to failure as is evident from the following statement of Evelyn, Roy's first wife. "The International can not aid nationalist causes except through a Communist party as intermediary".<sup>144</sup> Be that as it may, being true to the interests of his own country which had only recently come out from the quagmire of civil war and which suffered from drought and famine, Chicherin thought that no opportunity should be lost sight of to strike at the interests of the British. It was in view of these considerations that Chicherin agreed to put forward the proposal of Sindhi before the Russian cabinet.<sup>145</sup> Extorting unconditional help or only a commitment of that sort of help from Chicherin was viewed a great achievement of Sindhi. For, the wont of Bolshevik Russia was that she would not extend any help in the liberation of any country prior to imposing the Communist programme on her. Apparently, this was because of the fear that national Governments tend to be hijacked by the capitalist segments of society. Like the British Imperialists, this class i.e. the native capitalists also oppose social and economic

reforms. Such Governments do not permit the Communists to flourish in their countries and in the last analysis they become the foes of Russia. The Kamalist Turkey was the only exception to this rule. Soviet Russia had given unconditional help to the national Government of Mustafa Kamal Ataturk in his war against the British as well as the Greeks. The first meeting between Sindhi and Chicherin ended with a positive note i.e. the Russian foreign minister agreed to put the proposals of Sindhi before the Russian Government and promised that he would let him know about its outcome in a week.<sup>146</sup>

After the first meeting with Chicherin was over, Mawlana Sindhi alongwith Aibak returned to the quiet atmosphere of Hotel Lux. Since this was a secret meeting, other members of the group were not informed about it. However, the question which bothered and bewildered the minds of Sindhi and Aibak was whether or not the Russian Government would accept a proposal wherein the intervention of the CPSU had been ruled out. After the lapse of one week, Reisner informed Sindhi that Chicherin desired to meet him. Sindhi became optimistic that the Russian Government had accepted his proposal in principle. Therefore, all the three men went to the Russian ministry once again. This time also they had to

go through the same procedure i.e. to pass through the guards till they reached the secretary of Chicherin who led them in to have a second meeting with his boss. During this meeting, Chicherin informed the Mawlana that the Russian Government was ready to help in the Indian nationalist movement. However, the Soviet Government wanted to ask from the Mawlana whether the help would be in terms of money or weapons, and furthermore, how would that help reach India? In response to this query, Mawlana Sindhi said, "The motto of the Indian National Congress is peaceful non-cooperation. This being so, help to India in terms of weapons was not required. This help should assume the form of money. At the moment, the Soviet Government should give a grant of one crore to the Indian National Congress. India will consider this amount like a loan and return it to Soviet Russia after gaining freedom. However, it is essential that Afghanistan should also work with Soviet Russia in this matter. This is so, for, Afghanistan's is only the safe route with which Soviet Russia can establish relationship with India and also sustain it. In order to get Afghanistan involved in this task, my visit to Kabul is necessary, Furthermore, Soviet Russia should also give Rs. 1 crore to Afghanistan which is now struggling to fortify the new

Government. This amount will be like a grant compensation to Afghanistan for her letting the Soviets to use her soil and maintain relationship with India.<sup>147</sup> Chicherin did not raise objection to the first part of the Mawlana's proposal. However, he objected to the second part of the proposal and asked the Mawlana as to what guarantee was there that Afghanistan would not join hands with Britain even after receiving the aid and banish him (the Mawlana) like before? Upon hearing this, the Mawlana said: Sardar Nadir Khan will be the guarantor in this affair. After receiving this aid, Nadir Khan will become so powerful that King Amanullah would not do anything prior to taking him into confidence. Never again would Nadir Khan permit Afghanistan to make friendship with Britain.<sup>148</sup> After heaving this discourse of Sindhi, Chicherin promised to meet him again and enlighten him on the Soviet response. With these words ended the second meeting between Sindhi and Chicherin.<sup>149</sup>

During the third meeting, Chicherin informed Sindhi that the Soviet Government have accepted all the proposals of Sindhi and it was ready to help India in her nationalist cause. Also she is willing to dispatch financial help to Afghanistan. But the Soviet Government was eager to know as to how this help would trickle to

the two countries? In other words, what should be the modus operandi of this help? To this question the Mawlana replied "I intend to go to Turkey. There, either by calling a leader of the Indian National Congress to Turkey or by sending a reliable person to India, I will get across the message that the Soviet Government is willing to give a grant of Rs. 1 crore to India for her nationalist movement. After communicating this message to the Indian National Congress I will arrange a meeting between the Soviet Government and the Congress. As a result of the deliberations between the two bodies, a treaty will be signed following which the Indian Congress will receive the Soviet aid. As for Afghanistan, it is imperative that prior to giving any aid to that country, I initiate correspondence with Nadir Khan. Preparing the ground in Afghanistan is necessary lest that country should resort to what she did in 1919 and later in 1921 i.e. making treaties of friendship with Britain and leaving her Indian allies alone. In this connection, it is necessary that I myself and those who were forced to leave Afghanistan in 1922, go back to Kabul. If it is not possible for me to accomplish this goal in Turkey, then I will travel to the Hijaz. There through the agency of my friends who come for Hajj, I will

Communicate this message to India and reestablish my friendship with Afghanistan".<sup>150</sup>

Chicherin promised to put forward this scheme of Sindhi before the Russian Government and appointed a fourth meeting with him after a week. During the fourth and last meeting, Chicherin informed Sindhi that the Soviet Government have accepted both the proposals of Sindhi. Furthermore, he was told to go about his scheme to travel to Turkey and translate his vision into reality. The expenses of his journey, he was assured, would be borne by the Russian Government. Besides, he was also assured that during his stay in Turkey he would receive whatever financial assistance he needed from the Russian consulate from time to time.<sup>151</sup>

#### XIV

After having reached an agreement with the Soviet foreign minister, Sindhi travelled to Turkey in July in 1923. The following year Aibak also reached there. He says that prior to his arrival in Turkey, Lala Lajpat Rai (d. 1928), the Punjabi Arya Samajist leader and member of the Congress, had arrived in Turkey. Mawlana Sindhi told Lajpat Rai that "in the future, Russian aid for the purpose of the liberation of India will reach there via



Afghanistan".<sup>152</sup> When Lajpat Rai returned to India, he initiated a strong propaganda against Sindhi. The target of this propaganda were not only the Muslims but the Indian national Congress as well. One gathers from a comment of Mawlana Laghari that the Hindu revivalist and left sectarian leaders such as Lajpat Rai, Madan Mohan Malaviya and a host of others were averse to the concept of Afghanistan's involvement in the liberation of India particularly her supposed invasion of India. It appears that the memories of the invasion of India from the north in the distant past were still alive in the minds of revivalist Hindus who feared that another invasion from Afghanistan might turn India once again into a Muslim country. For this reason, they endeavoured to keep away the dragon i.e. the expected invasion of Afghanistan from the boundaries of India.<sup>153</sup> If this assertion of Laghari is correct, then it would appear that the Indian nationalist leaders were not unanimous as regards the freedom of India. This being so, the efforts of Sindhi in Afghanistan and Russia were not destined to bear any tangible fruit. Furthermore, it was in those days that the Hindus started "Shuddi"<sup>154</sup> movement in response to which Muslims started Tabligh movement. Similarly in response to the Hindu movement of Sangathan<sup>155</sup>, Muslims started Tanzim.<sup>156</sup>

Against this backdrop, communal problems flared up occasionally and the problem of the freedom of India went into the background.<sup>157</sup>

Mawlana ‘Ubayd Allah stayed in Soviet Russia for about nine months. Since his association with the Indian National Congress had been proven, he was treated like a guest of the Soviet Union and all kinds of facilities including access to library were provided to him. The stay in Soviet Russia, apart from his political activities, enabled him to undertake a minute study of Communism through the help of his students and friends among whom were included people belonging to all shades of opinion--Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, socialists and nationalists. In a figurative sense, these people constituted a rainbow. An illusory or faint hope of dismantling the British power from India had dragged them all to Moscow, the Makkah for the socialist world. Some of Sindhi's friends were dispatched to Europe to find out the impact of the Soviet revolution there. During his sojourn in Moscow, naturally he had occasion to meet and have discussion with many members of the Russian revolution. However, in his personal diary he repudiates the popular impression that he met with Lenin, for he says that Comrade Lenin was so seriously ill at that time that he

could not recognize even his close relatives.<sup>158</sup> Furthermore, about his study of Communism, he records the following in his diary, "It was a corollary of this study that I was able to contemplate ways and means as to how to save my religious movement---a continuation of the philosophy of Shah Waliullah---from the anti-religious attacks of our age. Upon this success of mine, I am grateful first to the Indian National Congress; second, to my Indian friends who included Hindus, Muslims, socialists and nationalists; third to the Soviet Russia. But for the help of these three entities, I would not have accomplished this distinction<sup>159</sup> which came to my lot.

This stay and study had a deep and incalculable impact upon his later life and thought and led him to propose, while in Turkey, a system of Government for independent India which was more or less akin to the Russian model. However, he did not wish to implement the Russian model in toto which he considered as faulty in all its details. First, he wanted to Islamise the Russian experience, strip it of its atheism and then apply it to India. For this purpose 'Ubayd Allah, though strongly religious minded, directed his attention to discover such a system in Islamic teachings and philosophy. After a long stay of 13 years at Makkah, 'Ubayd

Allah discovered a system similar to the Russian experience in the teachings of Shah Waliullah.<sup>160</sup> Henceforth, Waliullah became his mentor and he devoted the rest of his life to teaching and propagating the philosophy of Shah Waliullah.

The following chapter will occupy us in a study and analysis of the impact of 'Ubayd Allah's mission upon his religious thought.

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. When Mawlana <sup>‘</sup>Ubayd Allah visited Afghanistan in 1915, the population of that country was eight million whereas that of India was 200 million. (Aibak, Aap Biti, Vol I, p. 5). The area of Afghanistan is 245000 square miles. In area Afghanistan is larger than Germany (Ibid. p. 46).
2. Mawlana <sup>‘</sup>Abdullah Laghari, Mawlana-<sup>‘</sup>Ubayd Allah Sindhi Ki Sarguzash-i Kabul, p. 45.
3. Alexandre Bennigsen, Soviet Strategy and Islam (London: The MacMillan Press, 1989), p. 14; the last treaty which king Amanullah, who has been equated with “Henry the second” of Afghanistan and who was also dubbed as a “beneficial autocrat”, signed with the British was on Tuesday November 22, 1921. This document carried the signature of Mahmood Tarzi, Chief of the Afghan delegation and Henri R.C. Dobbs, Envoy Extraordinary and Chief of the British mission to Kabul. This treaty contained 14 articles (c/f Sardar Iqbal <sup>‘</sup>Ali shah, Afghanistan of the Afghan (Quetta: Gosha-i Adab, 1977, p.255).
4. Muhammad Sarwar, Ifadat wa Malfuzat-i Mawlana-<sup>‘</sup>Ubayd Allah Sindhi (Hereinafter referred to as Malfuzat), (Lahore: Sindh Sagar Academy, 1972), p.47.
5. M.A. Persits, Revolutionaries of India in Soviet Russia (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1983), p.22.
6. Ibid, Qureshi, <sup>‘</sup>Ulama in Politics, p.249. The message to the Tsar had been written on a golden plate. (Ibid).
7. M.A. Persits, p.22.
8. Ibid. p.33.
9. Raja Mahendra Pratap, My Life Story of Fifty Five Years, 1st ed. (Dehradun, U.P. (India): 1947), p.74.

10. Aibak, Khatirat (Aap Biti) ed. Dr. Ghulam Husain Zulfikar (Lahore: Sang-i Meel Publications, 1990), p.132.
11. O.Pleshov, "Echoes of the October Revolution in the North-West of British India", The October Socialist Revolution And the Middle East: A collection of Articles by Soviet Scholars (Lahore: People's Publishing House, 1987), pp. 15,16.
12. M.A. Persits, p.39.
13. Raja Mahendra Pratap, My Life Story of Fifty Five Year, p.79.
14. Abu Salman Shahjahanpuri, Tahrikat-i Milli, p.229.
15. M.a. Persits, p.47.
16. Tahrikat-i Milli, p.229.
17. M.A. Persits, p.47.
18. Anthony Arnol, Afghanistan: the Soviet Invasion in Perspective (Karachi: Sasi Book Store, 1981), p.6.
19. Aibak, Aap Biti, p.238.
20. Sarwar, Kabul mein Sat Sal, p.123.
21. Ibid. p. 127.
22. Ibid. p. 128.
23. M.A. Persits, p.25.
24. Ibid. p.12.
25. Qazi Javed, Sir Sayyid Say Iqbal Tak (Lahore: Nigarishat, 1986), p.179.
26. M.A. Persits, p.88.

27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid. p.89.
30. Ibid. p.29.
31. Ibid. p.89.
32. The only fortunate Muslim country which was free from the direct or indirect British rule was Turkey. Afghanistan, Iran and Saudi Arabia experienced indirect British rule. The remainder of the Muslim world groaned under the direct British or European rule.
33. "Spreading the good news around" is the traditional Jargon for the preaching of Christianity. In the topic under discussion, the phrase is used to denote making propaganda work for the spread of Communism.
34. John Patric Haithcox (Hereinafter referred to as Haithcox), p.41; Bennigsen, p.9.
35. Haithcox, p.41.
36. Ibid.
37. Persits, p.30.
38. O Pleshov, The October Socialist Revolution and the Middle East, p.16.
39. Persits, p.37.
40. Bennigsen, p.10.
41. T.R. Sharma, Communism in India: The Politics of Fragmentation (New Delhi Sterling Publishers, 1984), p.15.
42. Sarwar, Ifadat, p.47.

43. The comintern was formed in 1919. Lenin insisted that the Communist parties in foreign countries must part ways with the existing second or socialist international and must form the third international. It was a worldwide organization the central purpose of which was to overthrow the existing capitalistic system. It did not succeed in this basic purpose; however, it achieved some of its goals such as maintaining discipline in the Communist parties in other countries and making them tied to the apron strings of the Communist party of the Soviet Union. Every Communist party in a foreign country was supposed to abide by a set of 21 conditions the purpose of which was to impose Leninist discipline upon its members and upon the Communist movement as a whole (Academic American Encyclopedia (Connecticut: Grolier Incorporated, 1987) Vol. 5, p.146). It was dissolved in 1943 as a gesture of goodwill to Russias wartime allies (Encyclopedia Americana, International edition, 1987 Vol. 7, p.436).
44. H. Williamson (Ed.), India and Communism, Reprint, (Simla: Government of India Press, 1935), p.176.
45. My Life Story of Fifty Five Years, p.52.
46. H. Williamson (ed.), India and Communism, p.176.
47. Aibak, Aap Biti, p.205.
48. Ibid. p. 241.
49. Madani, Naqsh-i Hayat, p.582.
50. Khatirat, p. 214; Hajjan, Mawlana<sup>c</sup>Ubayd Allah Sindhi, A Revolutionary Scholar, p. 120; Aibak, Aap Biti, p. 255.
51. Khatirat, p. 215.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid. p. 214.
54. Ibid. p. 213.



55. Ibid. p. 214.
56. Ibid. p. 216.
57. Laghari, p. 44.
58. Khatirat, p. 216.
59. Laghari, p. 45.
60. Khatirat, p. 222.
61. Ibid. p. 225.
62. Ibid. p. 226.
63. Ibid. p. 227.
64. Ashiq Husain Batalwi, Chand Yaden Chand Ta'assurat, (Lahore: Sang-i-meel Publications, 1992), p. 272.
65. The Naqshbandiya order was founded in 8th/10th century in Bukhara by Baha al-din Called Naqshband. The name Naqshband "painter" is explained by the fact that the founder "drew spiritual pictures on the heart", and actually the Naqshbandi disciples, while practicing dhikr "draws lines on their hearts" by silent words to purify their hearts. (c/f Dr. Fazlur Rahman, Islam Second Edition, (Chicago: the University of Chicage press, 1979), p. 164.
66. Khatirat, p. 228.
67. Ibid.
68. Aibak, Aap Biti Vol.2. p. 9; Khatirat, p. 229.
69. Khatirat, p. 230.
70. Zuriddin Husnuddinov, "Islam in Independent Uzbekistan" Daily the Frontier Post (Peshawar: November 12, 1997), p. 6.

71. John Gunther, Inside Russia Today, revised, ed (New York: Pyramid Publication, 1962), p. 462.
72. Ibid.
73. The Encyclopedia Britannica, 15th ed. 1987 Vol.28, p.996.
74. Ibid.
75. The Encyclopedia of Religion, Volume 9, p. 244.
76. Khatirat, p. 230.
77. Ibid. p.231.
78. Gerald de Gaury and H.V.F Winstone (Ed.) The Road to Kabul (London: Quartet Books, 1981), p. 210.
79. The Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol.28, p. 941.
80. Khatirat, p. 231.
81. G. Allana, Our Freedom Fighters 1562 - 1947 Twenty One Great Lives, Third ed. (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1985), p. 178.
82. Khatirat, p. 232.
83. Aap Biti, Vol.2, p. 16.
84. Inside Russia Today, p. 1.
85. Ibid. p. 22.
86. Persists, p. 87.
87. Haithcox, p. 20.
88. The Basmachi revolt against the soviet regime started in Fergana in 1919. The movement received a setback in 1920. When the Communist leaders resorted to palliative measures and thus silenced the Basmachis. However, fighting broke out in 1921 and was extended to Bukhara.

The revolt gained impetus when Anwar Pasha who was the minister of war in Turkey till 1918, arrived in Turkistan and assumed the leadership of the Basmachis. Anwar Pasha was killed in an ambush. By the year 1923, the backbone of the movement had been broken. Sporadic fighting, however, continued till late 1920s. (c/f Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Lemerrier-Quellejay, Islam in the Soviet Union, (London: Pall Mall Press, 1967), p. 85.

89. Khatirat, p. 235.
90. Ibid.
91. Inside Russia Today, p. 28.
92. Khatirat, p. 237.
93. Ibid. p. 239.
94. Aap Biti Vol. 2, p. 27.
95. The Encyclopedia Americana, International ed. 1987, Vol. 24, p. 35.
96. Khalifa <sup>c</sup>Abdul Hakeem Islam and Communism, 5th ed. (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1976), p. 21. As regards the influence of the ideas of Karl Marx, it should be pointed out that a century after his death, there were more than one billion persons in the world who followed him at least nominally Michael H.Harty "Karl Marx: the most powerful influence on 20th century thought", The Frontier Post (Peshawar: 1 March, 1998), p. 3.
97. Khatirat, p. 242.
98. Ibid.
99. Ninian Smart, The Religious Experience of Mankind Third ed. (London: Collins Clear Type Press, 1973), p. 651.
100. The Encyclopedia Britannica 15th ed. 1987, Vol. 23, p. 581.

101. Academic American Encyclopedia Vol. 5 (Danbury: Connecticut: Grolier Incorporated, 1987), p. 146.
102. Khatirat, p. 243.
103. Ninian Smart, p. 654.
104. Encyclopedia Americana Vol. 24, p. 36.
105. Ibid.
106. V.I. Lenin, The April Thesis, Third revised ed., Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970), p. 30.
107. Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. 24, p. 36.
108. The New Websters Encyclopedia, p. 944.
109. Encyclopedia Americana Vol. 24, p. 37.
110. Academic American Encyclopedia, Vol. 7, p. 436.
111. Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 28, p. 997.
112. Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. 24, p. 40.
113. Ibid.
114. Khatirat, p. 245.
115. ‘Abdullah Yusuf ‘Ali, The Meaning of the Glorious Quran Vol. 2 (Cario: Dar al-Kitab Misri, n.d.) Chapter IX, Verse 111.
116. Khatirat, p. 245.
117. Ibid., p. 246.
118. Ibid.
119. Ibid.

120. David Conway, A Farewell to Marx (London: 1993) p. 35; also Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 26, p. 540.
121. Ibid.
122. Khatirat, p. 244.
123. Musa Jarullah, Kitab fi Awail Huruf wa al-Suwar, (n.d. n.p.), p. 13.
124. Ibid.
125. Khatirat, p. 251.
126. Sarwar, Ifadat, pp. 42, 43.
127. Khatirat, p. 253.
128. Inside Russia Today, p. 29.
129. Khatirat, p. 253.
130. Inside Russia Today, p. 31.
131. Ibid.
132. The New Encyclopedia Britannica (Micropedia) Vol. 7, p. 4.
133. Khatirat, p. 254.
134. Ulrich Joachim Schulz-Torge, Who was who in the Soviet Union (Munich: K.G. Saur, 1992), p. 250.
135. Kolchak was a naval officer in the Russian army. He participated in the first world war. In the wake of the February Revolution, he resigned under pressure from the Provisional Government in June 1917 and went to the U.S.A. Later, he made an abortive effort to co-ordinate "white" (anti-Bolshevik) forces in Manchuria. In 1919-1920, the "whites" proclaimed him as the supreme ruler of

Russia. During the civil war in Russia, the U.S.A. and her camp-followers in Western Europe patronized and encouraged the dissidents to strike against, and undermine, the Bolshevik revolution. However, the Bolsheviks won the day, thanks to the newfound frenzy and elan exhibited by them. Kolchak was forced to capitulate. After his overthrow by the Bolsheviks, he was executed and his body was thrown into the Angara River (c/f The Encyclopedia Britannica (Micropedia) Vol. 6, p. 938).

136. General Denikin was a professional in the Imperial Russian army. He served in the Russo-Japanese war in 1904-1905 and also in the first world war. In the civil war in Russia which had erupted in 1919 and continued till 1921, Denikin was the commander of the "white" forces in Southern Russia. However, his anti-Bolshevik efforts were also not crowned with success. He was defeated by the Red Army and forced to retreat. He immigrated to the U.S.A. in 1945 and probably spent the rest of his life there. (c/f Encyclopedia Britannica (Micropedia), Vol. 4, p. 12).
137. Khatirat, p. 257.
138. Ibid., p. 258.
139. Ibid.
140. Ibid., p. 259.
141. Laghari, p. 195.
142. Khatirat, p. 259.
143. Persits, p. 59.
144. Haithcox, p. 39.
145. Khatirat, p. 259.
146. Ibid., p. 260.
147. Ibid., p. 261.

148. Ibid.
149. Ibid.
150. Ibid. p. 262.
151. Ibid., p. 263.
152. Sarwar, Kabul Mein Sat Sal, p. 139.
153. Laghari, p. 95.
154. Shuddi is a Sanskrit word which means purity, correctness or purification. Swami Dayananda Saraswati, the founder of the movement used the term for a special purification ritual. The members of the Armya Samaj used it for the reconversion of those Hindus who had been lost to other religions (c/f Encyclopedia of Asian History Vol. 3, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988), p. 458.
- The president of the said Hindu organization, namely, Swami Shardananda initiated a movement to convert the poor Muslims of Malkana, a village situated in the vicinity of Delhi, to Hinduism. In reaction to this Mawlana Muhammad Ali gave up his alliance with the Congress and started Tabligh, the preaching of Islam. These events shattered the already shaky Hindu-Muslim Unity. Shardananda was killed by a certain Abdur Rashid who had been paid for the act. However, Laghari claims that Shardananda had been murdered by the disciples of Gandhi who had spoken strongly against the practice of Shuddi in a speech at Hyderabad. (Laghari, p. 96). The celebrated Hindu revolutionary, namely, Har Dayal even contemplated the Shuddi of Afghanistan and the Frontier regions which, he claimed, were at one time Hindu dominated areas. (c/f Ram Gopal, Indian Muslims A Political History 1858-1947 (Lahore: Book Traders, 1976), p. 124.
155. Sangathan means Hindu Consolidation. The founder of this movement was Madan Mohan Malaviya. The movement was intended to solidify the Hindu religion and prove its superiority over other religions. (Ram Gopal, p. 184).

156. Ram Gopal, Indian Muslims, p. 161.
157. Sarwar, Kabul mein Sat Sal, p. 139.
158. Madani, Naqsh-i Hayat, p. 564.
159. Ibid.
160. Dr. M. Rafiq Afzal, pp. 5, 6. As regards the influence of Shah Waliullah on Sindhi, the latter wrote, "Although I was under the influence of Socialism, it was because of my belief in the teachings of Shah Waliullah that I was able to keep my own political beliefs free from other isms". (c/f G.Allana, Our Freedom Fighters, p. 178.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE IMPACT OF 'UBAYD ALLAH SINDHI'S MISSION ON HIS RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

In the previous chapter, we discussed 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi's mission to Soviet Russia and his activities there. His story, however, will remain incomplete without noting, succinctly though, the impact of Sindhi's mission upon his subsequent politico-religious thought. This impact will be dealt with presently.

#### I

The politico-religious philosophy which characterized the later thought and career of 'Ubayd Allah was the direct result of his lengthy exile for twenty five years; his meanderings in various countries of the world such as Afghanistan, Soviet Russia, Turkey, Italy and Saudi Arabia, coupled with his deep study of philosophy, religion, sufism and history, topped by practical observations and the hard facts of life. But for all these, perhaps his later outlook would not have been radicalized<sup>1</sup>. He was a born revolutionary and his observations of the Russian revolution and the Kamalist revolution in Turkey spurred his innate revolutionary fervour and turned him to a wise grey-headed man who was very anxious to

convey his natural feelings to his fellow country men. It appears that he had discovered a valuable recipe which he wanted to give to his co-religionists. Even prior to stepping on the Soviet soil, 'Ubayd Allah already knew what was going on in that country. He was a contemporary of Lenin, and like the majority of the mortals of the East of his day, 'Ubayd Allah could not keep himself immune from the influence of the powerful ideology of socialism<sup>2</sup>.

After twenty five years of exile, when 'Ubayd Allah was given permission to go to India, he landed at Karachi on 7th March 1939. From Karachi he went straight to Deoband. S.M. Ikram says that the people of Deoband were so much gladdened and enthusiastic about the arrival of Sindhi that their joy could be equated with the joy of Jacob who had received the shirt of his lost son Joseph<sup>3</sup>. A procession was carried out in the city and a public meeting was held at the spacious hall of the Dar-al-'Ulum as a mark of respect for Sindhi. A reference meeting was arranged in his honor under the presidentship of the rector who lauded the services of Sindhi and expressed satisfaction over his timely return to India<sup>4</sup>.

After a stay of one week at Deoband, Sindhi went to Delhi situated at a distance of ninety mile from Deoband. Here also he

was given a right royal reception. The members of the Jami<sup>ca</sup> Islamiya, the Jamiyatul <sup>c</sup>Ulama-i Hind and members of other Islamic organizations welcomed the return of Sindhi and declared it a good omen for the country. The <sup>c</sup>Ulama had many expectations from Sindhi. They fancied that the Mawlana would promote their point of view and grace their public meetings. However, as things turned out the initial glim and glare which had been demonstrated on the occasion of Sindhi's return to India, soon petered out. The <sup>c</sup>Ulama were flabbergasted to know that Mawlana not only appreciated the material prosperity of the West but also considered it necessary for India. Furthermore, with a view to achieve this progress, he beckoned Muslims towards the path adopted by Mustafa Kamal Atatürk<sup>5</sup>, the great secularizer of Turkey.

Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Abdul Quddus says that <sup>c</sup>Ubayd Allah's friends and colleagues became increasingly alienated from him, because of his protests against the religious outlook of the Indian National Congress leadership and other Muslim parties; his defense of the khaksars and the policy of recruitment to the British forces championed by Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan (d.1942); his admiration of Communism; his favorable interpretation of Akbar's Din-i-Ilahi and his advocacy of the European dress and of the Roman script<sup>6</sup>.

In one of his speeches, ‘Ubayd Allah said: I wish that the Muslims should recognize the material advancement of the West. That is to say, we should recognize the progress in knowledge and science which Europe has achieved as the basis or foundation of life. However, it will be erroneous to construe that science has encompassed the entire gamut of life. No doubt, the discoveries of science in the physical and material realms are genuine. Nevertheless, life does not end with matter. On the contrary, matter itself is a manifestation of some other higher existence. The center of this existence is another essence which is not only life itself but the cause and prop of life also. The material interpretation of life is faulty, for, it represents only one aspect of life. But the true concept of life is to seek goodness in this life as well as the next one<sup>7</sup>. It is obvious from this statement that despite Sindhi's advice to Muslims to emulate the West in order to gain material progress, he was not willing to ignore the religious or spiritual side of life; how could he? Given the fact that he was a Deobandi Mawlana imbued with Pan-Islamic ideals or aspirations in the beginning of his career whom the vagaries of time have converted into a philosopher.

## II

What was the recipe which Mawlana Sindhi had discovered and through whose application he wanted to remedy the entire malaise of the Indian Muslims? This recipe was the philosophy of Shah Waliullah of Delhi(1703-1761), the founder of modernism in India<sup>8</sup> and hero of ‘Ubayd Allah about whom Dr. Iqbal (1877-1938) said in his famous book i.e. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, “Perhaps the first Indian Muslim who found a new spirit in him was Shah Walliullah of Delhi<sup>9</sup>. Prior to his departure from India, ‘Ubayd Allah had studied the chef d'oeuvre of Shah Walliullah i.e. the Hujjat Allah al-Baligha (the Strongest Proof of God) under Mawlana Mahmood Hasan, his teacher, at Deoband. Later during ‘Ubayd Allah's sojourn at Makkah, for thirteen years, he taught this book to students along with other books of Shah Waliullah. ‘Ubayd Allah states that he delineated the principles of the movement of Shah Waliullah at Makkah. Furthermore, he says that in the midst of the chaos and confusion which beset India after the death of Aurangzeb Alamgir, Waliullah's movement offered a ray of hope and served like a minaret of light. ‘Ubayd Allah claims that by applying the philosophy of Shah Waliullah, he could build up a system which

would be more effective and beneficial to the world than the ideas of Karl Marks<sup>10</sup>. The crux of the matter is that after coming in to contact with the Russian revolution and pondering over its results, ‘Ubayd Allah was in search of a comparative model which would have its base in the teachings of Islam. He discovered this model in the philosophy and teachings of Shah Waliullah who preceded Karl Marks (1818-1883) by more than a century.

Shah Waliullah's philosophy is like a seamless garment in which ‘Ubayd Allah finds all the divergent strands of human thought. Ibn Arabi's ontological monism, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's (1564-1624) reaction against it and instead presenting phenomenological monism; Akbar's Din-i-Ilahi, Aurangzeb's Puritanism, Mr. Gandhi's non-violence; Russian Communism; Turkish secularism; the jurisprudence of Imam Abu Hanifa and the anti-shari‘at trends in modern Muslim thought—all these diverse and contradictory lines of thought merge into the grand symphony of Waliullah's philosophy. Waliullah is described as a revolutionary leader who envisioned a new India more or less in line with Akbar's rule, set to work methodically and laid the basis for a party of revolutionary workers. This party completed part of its programme in the puritan movement led by Sayyid Ahmad

Shaheed (1761-1831), then split itself into two rival schools of 'Aligarh and Deoband and then merged into the unity of a revolutionary movement of which the Shaikhul Hind Mahmood-ul-Hasan (1850-1920) and 'Ubayd Allah himself were the top leaders.

According to 'Ubayd Allah, Shah Waliullah laid down two basic principles for his reform programme (i) the practical wisdom enshrined in the Quran with regard to social and political organization (ii) the principle of a well balanced economy which lies at the root of all social well being<sup>11</sup>. It is stated that in 1731 when Shah Waliullah was on a pilgrimage to Makkah, he dreamt that he would be instrumental in the destruction of existing order in India and the setting up of a new order. In the said so-called "historical dream" of Waliullah when he asked the angels as to how the malaise of the Ummah could be solved, they replied, "Destroy all the existing systems"<sup>12</sup>. In other words, 'Ubayd Allah says, he (Waliullah) would be the eternal leader of all political and intellectual movements of the Indian Muslims<sup>13</sup>. He initiated his movement in Delhi on the principle of the holy prophet's Makkan life adopting the method of non-violence and basing his organization on well-recognized sufic lines. Waliullah is recognized as a 'Siddiq' and 'Hakim' whose message is directed to

all Muslims and non-Muslims, Indians and non-Indians, and Arabs and non-Arabs<sup>14</sup>.

However, one should not construe that by admiring the rule of Akbar, Shah Waliullah desired to revive the Mughal rule. He had seen with his own eyes that the grand edifice of Mughal empire was about to crumble. No doubt, Shah Waliullah desired to see a central government in India as was visible during the days of the grand Mughal emperors such as Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb;<sup>15</sup> however, as a true son of his own times, he argued that the era of monarchy had come to an end and when a new form of government is set up, it will have a new basis<sup>16</sup>. The Mughal empire was riddled with all the evils with which Sasanids and byzantines of the time of the prophet were plagued. ‘Ubayd Allah minces no words to point out that the movement of Shah Waliullah was based on the masses of the Indian Muslims as opposed to the upper classes of the society. The Indian Muslim nobility was in a state of decay; their fortunes could not be revived and it were the Muslim masses of India to whom Shah Waliullah desired to transfer political power or authority<sup>17</sup>. This comment of Sindhi makes perfect sense when one keeps in view the fact that majority of the people who were enlisted by Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed to his



reform movement, which in the opinion of Sindhi was only a continuation of the movement of Shah Waliullah, belonged to the lower classes.

‘Ubayd Allah maintains that the Mughal India was a reflection of the social set-up in Bukhara in central Asia. In this regard, he says, “Our rulers were influenced by Bukhara's Fiqh, Bukhara's Kalam (Science of dialectics) and the sciences brought by the ‘Ulama of Bukhara. Shah Waliullah does not desire to follow this central Asian system. His model was the system built by the four rightly-guided Caliphs. He did not desire to revive the Islam of the Mughal kings. He wanted to revive that Islam which effected a revolution in history, which smashed the power of profiteers of Makkah and its wealth-worshipping chiefs, which broke the hold of religious superstitions, which raised the poor from dust and emboldened them to fight the rich, which ended the monopoly of religious leadership, which gave a death blow to the Sassanid and Byzantine system of life under whose heels humanity was groaning, and which initiated a period of history where freedom of intellect and economic equality were two cardinal principles<sup>18</sup>”.

ʿUbayd Allah finds the essence of Waliullah's teachings in the following five points<sup>19</sup>. (1) The Quran calls for a revolutionary system of life, international in its scope and inclusive of the entirety of mankind. Whenever, a Muslim group carries out this revolutionary programme, it is bound to achieve the same results as did the prophet and his companions. No condition of time and space can make a difference as regards the results. It should be pointed that this observation of Sindhi is fallacious in the sense that several attempts have been made to reform Islam and revive its pristine glory but these movements have not been successful. The material prosperity which fell to the lot of Muslims in its early years has not been reached since then. Islamic history has not repeated itself in terms of the colonizing political power of Islam. Dr. Iqbal tells us that the West considers Muslims as beggars. For these reasons the observation of Sindhi is euphoric. (2) The movement initiated by the Quran kept its pristine purity until troubles started in the reign of the third Caliph Hazrat ʿUsman. Because of these troubles, which continued till the assassination of Hazrat ʿAli, the fourth rightly-guided Caliph, the propagation of Islam received a temporary setback. However, with the consolidation of power by the Umayyids, another wave of Islamic

conquest was launched. The revolutionary contents of the Quran fired the imagination of the early Muslims and provided inspiration to the Islamic movement. (3) The Quranic promise of the victory of Islam has already been fulfilled. Shah Waliullah refutes the Shi'ah repeatedly on this point because they look forward to an Imam or Mahdi for the fulfillment of this promise. (4) All human well-being, mundane as well as religious, rests on four principal moral qualities i.e. purity, humility before God, self control and justice. These Irtifaqat-i- Arba'a (four social mores) are common to all religions and it is the duty of these religions to guide humanity towards these four goals<sup>21</sup>. Among these justice is of central importance as it is the moving spirit of all the political, social, and economic systems. (5) Whenever any Muslim society undertakes to revive the Quranic movement, it should pattern itself on the character of those first immigrants who followed the prophet to Madina. Sindhi adds that he did not understand the full significance of the fourth moral quality i.e. justice posited by Waliullah and his insistence that no society can produce justice which does not abstain from putting too heavy a burden on the main workers of the society, until he had studied socialism in Russia<sup>23</sup>.

‘Ubayd Allah Sindhi considered socialism as a branch of the philosophy of Shah Waliullah. Furthermore, he points out that during his stay in Russia his friends, who had helped him in the study of socialism, would extol Karl Marks, for he had given an economic system to the world. Praising Marks in this fashion, he says, hurt him. In response to the glorification of Marks by ‘Ubayd Allah's friends, the latter replied that Shah Waliullah who preceded Marks by more than a century had already adumbrated the revolutionary ideas in his books.

According to ‘Ubayd Allah, Shah Waliullah was the first one to point out that there was no fundamental disagreement between Ibn Arabi's Wahdat-ul-Wujud (Ontological monism) on which Akbar sought to mold his policy and administration and the alternative theory of Wahdat-ul-Shuhud (phenomenological monism) advocated by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (1564-1624) on behalf of Muslim aristocracy which was adopted by Aurangzeb (d.1707) as the basis of his policy under the guidance of a Sirhindi's son and successor Shah Ma<sup>c</sup>sum. Waliullah himself was a great believer in Wahdat-al-Wujud, he believed in Wahdah fi al-Kathra (unity in diversity); it is by virtue of this belief that the apparent pluralities merge into one unity and the parts become

subservient to one whole<sup>26</sup>. ‘Ubayd Allah says that “the meaning of Wahdat-al-Wujud is that different religions constitute different interpretations of the same truth. The core of religion is one and the same. How then to find out what is the central truth of which different religions are interpretations and what are the principles which are common to all religions. According to Shaikh Ibn ‘Arabi, adds ‘Ubayd Allah Sindhi, and his followers, Islam is the standard of truth, on which all other religions can be judged. To believe in Wahdat-al-Wujud in this manner, declares Sindhi, does not necessitate the denial of Islam's superiority. On the other hand, it establishes the truth of Islam. That is why Ibn ‘Arabi, who is the founder of this school of thought, was a strict follower of Hadith, and he himself says that every thing which conflicts with the Shariah is erroneous. In another passage, ‘Ubayd Allah Sindhi says, “This conception of Wahdat-al-Wujud determines certain important matters with regard to all religions. These matters constitute the basis of Islam and other religions too take their start from them. This is an international or purely human conception of a universal religion. During the days of Akbar (the Moghul ruler of India) an attempt was made to construct a practical system on the basis of this conception (Wahdat-al-Wujud), but the defect was that

Akbar and his advisors ignored the importance of a religion and nation as an organized political entity. The result was that Akbar's Din-i-Ilahi benefited neither the Muslims, nor were the Hindus satisfied with it. Then another attempt was made to organize the Muslims on the basis of the philosophy presented by Imam Rabbani (Sirhindi). This brought on a religious ruler like Aurangzeb but his sphere of thought was limited to Muslims, nay, to Sunni Muslims. The result was that he could not gain the sympathies of either of Rajput Hindus or the Shi'c'a Muslims"<sup>27</sup>.

Ubayd Allah Sindhi takes Shah Waliullah as the mediator between the universalism of Islam as represented by Sufis and the particularism of the Shari'c'a which found its exponents among both Ulama and the orthodox Sufis. Similarly, he claims that Shah Waliullah reconciled the contradictory positions taken by those who based their thought and practices on the Quran and others who derived their main inspiration from the Hadith. By the application of the principle of Tatbiq (reconciliation), Waliullah removed the differences between the Shari'c'a and Tariqah, between Sunnis and Shi'c'a and between the four medieval canonical schools of thought.

W.C. Smith maintains that Ubayd Allah Sindhi adumbrated a "special Muslim social theory" which he took from Shah

Waliullah. This theory is essentially anti-capitalistic; it envisaged Islam as an unfinished social movement started by Prophet Muhammad. This movement showed tremendous promise in its early years; however, the movement got perverted owing to Arab imperialism. Consequently, the pristine promise given by Islam has yet to be fulfilled<sup>28</sup>. Smith opines further that this theory sounds progressive, but it is not really radical; socially, ‘Ubayd Allah did not pose any danger to the powers that be<sup>29</sup>.

### III

Muhammad Sarwar says that ‘Ubayd Allah Sindhi believed in shaping life according to one's belief and he admits that this principle of Jihad or the progressive moulding of life he learned from the Quran<sup>30</sup>. Its highest exemplification was the life of the Prophet and his companions. The Quran, according to him, represents the basic trend of human thought which is eternally unvarying. The Quran incorporates the essence of all religions and intellectual philosophies<sup>31</sup>. Its outer garment is no doubt Arabic and bears the marks of its temporal and local surroundings; however, stripped off its relativities, it stands forth as the hard core of eternal truth. This core is the real Din. Every thing else is custom and tradition, that is, local and temporal manifestation of an eternal

idea. But ‘Ubayd Allah admits that when life evolves its outer manifestations, they become as necessary as the ideas which they typify. The mistake lies in confusing them with the underlying essence<sup>32</sup>.

Law, according to ‘Ubayd Allah, arises from the special circumstances of time and place. As these change, law follows suit. Every new age and epoch is a particular manifestation of the spirit of God and to deny the specific requirements of a new era is to deny the spirit of God itself<sup>33</sup>. ‘Ubayd Allah makes a distinction between law and Hikmah (wisdom) i.e. the spirit of the law. The law is not eternal but the wisdom which it embodies is eternal. Religion consists of two things. One is Fiqh or jurisprudence and the other is Hikmah (wisdom). The Hikmah of the Quran is universal; in it you will find as much Arabism as Persianism or Indianism. People belonging to all nations can profit from the wisdom of the Quran. Hikmah creates in man the ability to think, to change himself and to make progress. Hikmah enables a man to seek new ways of doing things and observe the objective conditions of his time<sup>34</sup>. Fiqh, on the other hand is a codified system. Man makes rules and regulations in order to come to terms with, and control, his environment. Without an order in life which becomes



obtainable by virtue of the rules and regulations, life would become meaningless and relapse to anarchy. Therefore, in order to be purposeful, life needs both a code of law and the wisdom enshrined in it. If there is co-existence between the code and wisdom, man can advance and make progress as well as maintain his relationship with the past. Hikmah leads to progressiveness whereas Code functions to preserve the values of the past. If Fiqh is abandoned, the community is threatened with disintegration. On the other hand if Fiqh takes the place of Hikmah and becomes all powerful, human mind becomes petrified and progress becomes impossible<sup>35</sup>. As regards the co-relation between the code of law and the spirit or wisdom behind it, one can analogize the two to the outer shell of a nut and its kernel. Both the nut and the kernel are inter-dependent upon each other. If there is no kernel the shell becomes meaningless. On the other hand, no kernel could be formed had there been no shell.

‘Ubayd Allah Sindhi’s concept of Fiqh is based on his concept of the Prophet’s role in history. He says that the prophet had two roles to perform. One is national and the other universal. In his teachings the Prophet makes allowance for the habits and customs of those people to whom his message is addressed in the

first place; but a Prophet has also a universal aspect. The Prophet of Islam was born among the Arabs who were his first addressees. Therefore, it was natural that his teachings should be clothed in Arab garb. The Muwatta of Imam Malik was the Arab version of the universal teachings of the Quran. Later, when Islam expanded to other parts of the world, other Muslims legislated for their own needs with the help of the Muwatta and introduced changes in accordance with their national peculiarities<sup>36</sup>.

As regards the penal laws of Islam, Sindhi says that the Quran was revealed among the Arabs and consequently their habits, customs and traditions were taken into account while these laws were being formulated. But this does not detract from the universalism of the Quran. According to 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi, the few injunctions found in the Quran are examples and specimen. It is not right to regard these injunctions in the particular form in which they are found as eternally binding. The universal teachings of the Quran had to be given a particular shape in the Arab milieu through these injunctions<sup>37</sup>.

The outstanding achievement of Shah Waliullah, in 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi's opinion was that he disentangled the eternal wisdom of the Quran from its legal precepts which were conditioned by the

special circumstances of the age and society in which the Quranic message was delivered<sup>38</sup>. The results of the Quranic teachings manifested themselves in a particular age, in a certain form appropriate to it, but it is not necessary that they should appear in the same form in another age. For example, justice and equality were embodied during the period of early Caliphate in certain institutions. The ideal still remains the same but its institutional form will be different. The early Caliphate was one specific form of the Quranic idea of society and politics. This form cannot be transferred to a later age, but a system of life and political organization can be built upon the self-same principles. ‘Ubayd Allah echoes the Marxist theory when he repudiates the popular impression that revolution means destruction or the negation of values, but preserves the more salutary ones. He welcomed the Soviet revolution but disapproved of its unadulterated materialism which leaves no room for the multi-sided development of man<sup>39</sup>.

#### IV

Sunnah, according to ‘Ubayd Allah, constitutes the by-laws derived from the basic laws of the Quran. The by-laws framed by Islam during its early stage when it was confined to Hijaz and was codified in the Muwatta of Imam Malik. In the opinion of ‘Ubayd

Allah, the Muwatta is the agreed basis of all systems of jurisprudence in Islamic lands. From these by-laws of the early Islamic society, each Muslim society developed its own separate system of jurisprudence. The Sahih of Bukhari and other authentic books of traditions were commentaries on Muwatta<sup>40</sup>. ‘Ubayd Allah divides the traditions of the holy Prophet into two categories: those dealing with the personal habits and practices of the Prophet and those which took into account the temporary and transient needs of the moment. The latter category of Hadith are wholly irrelevant to the Islamic Shariah. Of the rest, there are again two sub-divisions: those that are of eternal validity like the Quran, for example traditions dealing with rules of prayer, pilgrimage etc. and the rest which don't have such validity and cover many alternative modes of action, leaving freedom of choice to Muslims.

Once Mawlana Sindhi was told that a certain fellow rejected Hadith. The Mawlana replied that Hadith or Sunnah represented a picture of the life lived according to the Quran. If the Quran was read in isolation from its practical results, it would create nothing but confusion. But if in studying the Quran, you keep in mind the fact that the Quran had changed a certain nation at one stage of history in this particular manner, and that this nation had given a

practical shape to the Quranic teachings in this particular manner and that such and such were the results that followed, then and only then the Quran can provide a basis for shaping contemporary life. Otherwise, if you take your stand on mere theories and even succeed in proving theoretically that the Quran is superior to other revealed books, even then no one will be in the least influenced by your theoretical stand. What should be seen is how the Quran influenced a particular society. Now if we omit Hadith or Sunnah, how will we trace the influence of Quran on Arab society<sup>41</sup>.

Dealing with the development of Fiqh in Islam, 'Ubayd Allah says that after the Arab conquest of Persia, Syria and Egypt, there was a large group of Muslims who were ready to give equal rights to non-Arab Muslims. This group represented the real teachings of Islam. Another group was filled with the pride of Arab nationalism and gave non-Arab Muslims a secondary position. The first group championed the Hanafi system of jurisprudence. The nationalist-minded Arabs were inclined towards the Shafi'i system of jurisprudence. The Hanafi system of jurisprudence came to be accepted by all non-Arabs, precisely because it did not breath the spirit of Arab culture and tradition but was built on genuine appreciation of the needs and traditions of non-Arabs. The non-

Arab nations also developed a Kalam (dialectical theology) of their own. ‘Ubayd Allah is of the opinion that Abul Hasan Asha‘ari (873-935) was a product of Arab reaction against the non-Arab Kalam, because the Asha‘arite Kalam reflected the Arab mentality and did not appeal to the non-Arabs<sup>42</sup>.

## V

Mawlana Sindhi finds a comparison between Islam and Communism. Both are dubbed as international movements. It is true that under Stalin (d. 1953) Communism became more and more nationalized, but it still retained its international character. Despite the fact that ‘Ubayd Allah was enamored by the Communist revolution in Russia, nevertheless he considered Communism as an imperfect and incomplete system because it is based exclusively on the economic needs of man and overlooks the spiritual aspect of life. Sindhi pontificates that man is not merely an economic being. No doubt, Communism has organized the outward life of man. However, the sphere of life in Communism is confined to matter only. On the other hand, Islam does not restrict life to matter even though it does not deny its existence. Life demands continuity and according to Islam it does not end with this life.

However, there are similarities between the two and the study of one enables a person to understand the other<sup>43</sup>.

Communism did to the Russians what Islam did to the Arabs. It goaded and galvanized a people rich in human qualities into constructive activity and dynamic revolutionary fervour. Without the advent of Islam, the Arab Bedouins would have been the hordes of Changiz Khan<sup>44</sup>. As in Communism, the Islamic revolutionary party split into two groups, those who looked only to its universal, human and international aspects and those who were inclined to Arab nationalism. During the period of 'Usman's Caliphate the struggle between the two came to a head. Ultimately, the nationalist party triumphed<sup>45</sup>. The fourth Caliph 'Ali represented the international wing of Islam but he failed like Trotsky to gauge the strength of Arab nationalism and to accommodate it to his international programme. 'Ubayd Allah corroborates the internationalist attitude of 'Ali from the following episode. After the assassination of 'Umar at the hands of an Iranian, 'Umar's son 'Ubayd Allah killed the Iranian because he suspected him to be the killer of his father. A case was filed against 'Ubayd Allah for this act and Qisas (requit) was demanded of him. Hazrat Usman paid the blood money on behalf of 'Ubayd

Allah and thus saved his life. However, when Hazrat 'Ali became the Caliph, he wanted to arrest 'Ubayd Allah and subject him to Qisas. Hearing this, 'Ubayd Allah left Madina and fled to Damascus<sup>46</sup>. Furthermore, 'Ali had established with Salman Farsi, a companion of the Prophet who happened to be an Iranian<sup>47</sup>.

The internationalism of the party of 'Ali was constantly in evidence throughout history as the Alids were the supporters of non-Arab movements. Thus in spite of the nationalism of Umayyid rulers, the internationalism of Islam continued to exert its influence and the 'Abbasids came to power mainly through the support of international forces in Islam. In other words, the non-Arabs and particularly the Iranians were instrumental in unseating the Umayyids and installing the 'Abbasids in their stead. The rise of the Ottoman Turks represented the complete victory of international Islam, because the Arab element had no share in the power of the Ottoman Sultan. With the impact of the west, the principle of nationalism within international Islam, completely reasserted itself. The internationalism and universalism of Islam, however, will remain a factor of great influence, but it will take the form of voluntary confederation of Muslim states.



Ubayd Allah Sindhi divides the entire history into four phases and makes a comparison of Islamic history with the Communist movement in Russia from the point of view of nationalistic feelings among the Arabs. In this context he says that the international spirit of Islam was quite dominant and visible prior to the assassination of the second Caliph. The latter affair brought about a reaction among the Muslims and they began to suspect the Persians in general one member of whom had murdered the Caliph of Islam during prayers. Inevitably the defense of Islam became the national issue of the Arabs who could not trust the Persians anymore. This practice was also reflected in the mode of the government. After the assassination of the fourth Caliph which event marked the end of the first phase of Islamic history characterized by the universal spirit of Islam, the Arabs took upon themselves to protect Islam as a national cause. Naturally, the political power passed into that branch of the Qureish which wielded power before Islam i.e. the Umayyids. Ubayd Allah holds that the dispute between the Umayyids and Hashmites was a dispute between two families each of which aspired political power. The material circumstances were favourable for the Umayyids and it was for this reason that they

won the day<sup>48</sup>. It happened the same way in Soviet Russia. Communism, as an international movement, was not confined to any nationality, tribe or country. When Hitler attacked Soviet Union, Stalin made an earnest appeal to the people of Russia in the name of the fatherland asking them to hurl back the enemy and save their children from the horrors of Nazis<sup>49</sup>. It was argued then that if Communism was saved in Russia, it would contribute to saving the Communist movement or ideology elsewhere. 'Ubayd Allah says that the coming into power of the Umayyids after the era of the rightly-guided Caliphs was not a revolt against the principles of Islam. It was a necessary phase in the development of Islam. It is true that Umayyids gave an Arab hue to the Islamic state, but they did not subject the international ideology of Islam to the needs of their government. Thus even though the Umayyids shifted their political capital from Madina to Damascus, Madina was still the intellectual center of Islam. Similarly, while non-Arabs had no honored position in the Umayyid court and administration, nevertheless, they almost monopolized the collective and cultural life. With the political downfall of the Umayyids, the second phase of the international movement of Islam came to an end. In the first phase of the Islamic revolution,

the Qureish gathered all the Arabs under their banner. In the second phase, the Qureish with the help of other Arab tribes brought significantly large tracts of the world under the fold of Islam. With the rise to power of the ʿAbbasids, the third phase of the Islamic revolution began. This phase or era is characterized by the mutual cooperation of Arabs and non-Arabs to form governments. Where as the Arabs still enjoyed the moral authority in this phase, the non-Arabs dominated in other fields of life. Gradually the Arabs lost even the moral authority. Persians and Turks became the custodians of the Islamic seats of power and the Arabs were relegated into a status of second class citizenship. The third phase of the Islamic revolution came to an end in 1918 when the Ottoman Caliphate got liquidated. The fourth phase of the Islamic movement began after the demise the of the Ottoman Caliphate and the beginning of the modern democracies. ʿUbayd Allah does not see any thing wrong with the nationalist tinge in the fourth phase of the Islamic movement as long as the Muslims are free and independent in their own territories. During this phase, ʿUbayd Allah points out that priorities should be given to our national freedom. All those elements in Islamic society who oppose

national movements in the name of internationalism of Islam are actually misleading the Muslims<sup>50</sup>.

## VI

‘Ubayd Allah could not establish his bonafides with his co-religionists and consequently incurred their displeasure by interpreting the Din-i-Ilah of Akbar in a favourable way. According to ‘Ubayd Allah, Akbar’s Din-i-Ilahi was an admirable step and it was based on the mystic philosophy of Wahdat-al-Wujud. But many factors conspired to make it unsuccessful. To begin with Akbar gave little importance to the Shari‘ah and the regulation of social morality. Secondly, since it was a movement built up from above and thrived on court intrigues and motives of personal gain, it lacked the touch of moral sincerity. He absolves himself from the allegation that he depreciates the religious state. Far from diminishing the significance of a religious state, he says that the latter is the best state so long as the revolutionary fervour of religion inspires the rulers. Such a state possesses a revolutionary zeal and ennobles human life, because the leaders and administrators of the state regard their power as a means towards a spiritual end. States and governments of this types last for a very brief period but their influence is enduring. But when

religion becomes the monopoly of a class or nation and loses its power of transforming human lives, its upholders become a reactionary force.

## VII

Sindhi wanted a material revolution to take place in India like that of Europe which will give the benefit of scientific knowledge to his countrymen. He says that unless man gets full control of material nature and the blessings of scientific knowledge becomes the possession of all human beings, mankind cannot move towards Islam. Islamic government means that the blessings of God should be common to all. This being so, 'Ubayd Allah is not afraid of the materialism of the West. He thinks that materialism in Europe is complementary to Islam. Unless and until we appreciate the fruits of the material revolution in Europe, the universal spiritual revolution of Islam cannot come about. Once while commenting on the advantages of Europeanism, he said that Muslims would learn two things from it, namely, the meaning of cleanliness and democracy<sup>52</sup>. 'Ubayd Allah opines that we should admit openly that we have been defeated by Europe. " If our culture, philosophy of life and our legal system had not been defective, how could we have been defeated in the political field.

Indian Muslims, he says should review their past heritage. Whatever is defective in that heritage should be thrown away. We should appropriate the new elements of life that have come into existence but we should appropriate them in such a manner that they accord with our national temperament. Thus we should erect the edifice of a new culture, new system of life and new legal system. The spirit of this system will be religious, the spirit of Quran and Islam, but the outward form will be different<sup>53</sup>.

**NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER FOUR**

- (1) Sa'id Ahmad Akbarabadi, Mawlana 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi awr unki Naqid (Lahore: al-Mahmood Academy, 1989), p.6.
- (2) Even a highly religious minded person such as Dr. Iqbal (1877-1938) could not keep himself immune from the influence of Communist Ideology. Like 'Ubayd Allah, Iqbal was also a contemporary of Lenin and in his poetry, he has spoken high of Karl Marx and Lenin. For instance, he says about Marx that though he was not a prophet yet he possessed the book. Furthermore, he analogised Karl Marx with a Moses without revelation (Kalim-i-be Tajalli) and a Jesus without a Cross (Masih-i be Saleeb). Similarly about the architects of the Russian revolution Iqbal said that they acted upon the first half portion of the Islamic creed (Lailah) by demolishing the false gods, but unfortunately they stopped there and could not reach the true God ('Aziz Ahmad, Islamic Modernism in India, p.281).
- (3) S.M. Ikram, Mawj-i-Kausar, p.348.
- (4) Ibid
- (5) Ibid
- (6) Laghari, Mawlana 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi ki Sarguzesht-i-Kabul, p.17.
- (7) Munshi 'Abdur Rahman Khan, Mi'maran-i-Pakistan. Ist ed. (Lahore: Shaikh Academy, 1976), p.17.
- (8) Fazlur Rahman, "The Thinker of Crisis: Shah Waliullah" Journal Pakistan Quarterly Karachi: Summer, 1956) p.44.
- (9) Muhammad Iqbal, The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam. (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1960), p. 97.
- (10) Sindhi, Shah Waliullah awr unki Siyasi Tahrik. p.9
- (11) Ibid. p.34.

- (12) Mahmood Ghazi, "Shah Waliullah", Islam in South Asia ed. Waheed-us-Zaman and m. Saleem Akhtar. Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1933), p.316.
13. All the subsequent reform movements in the Indian subcontinent withdrew their inspiration from Shah Waliullah. For instance, Sir Sayyid based his rationalism on the teachings of Shah Waliullah. When he was under attack by the orthodox <sup>c</sup>Ulama of his time, Sir Sayyid would lean against the oceanic personality of Shah Waliullah. Furthermore, while adumbrating the principles of exegesis Sir Sayyid would fortify his arguments by saying Aw Kama Qala Shah Waliullah (As Shah Waliullah has said). Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Tafsir-al-Quran (Lahore: Dost Associates, 1995) p.2.
- (14) Shah Waliullah awr unki Siyasi Tahrik. p.39.
- (15) Ibid. p.24.
- (16) Ibid. p.23.
- (17) Mazheruddin Siddiqi, Modern Reformist Thought in the Muslim World (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 1982). pp 128-129.
- (18) Ibid. p.129
- (19) Shah Waliullah awr unki Siyasi Tahrik. p.46.
- (20) Ibid. p.48.
- (21) Ibid. p.24.
- (22) Ibid. p.151.
- (23) Ibid. p.49.
- (24) Munshi <sup>c</sup>Abdur Rahman, Mi<sup>c</sup>marani-i-Pakistan, p.267.



- (25) Shah Waliullah awr unki Siyasi Tahrik. p.50; Mi<sup>e</sup>marani-i-Pakistan, p.282.
- (26) Muhammad Sarwar, Armaghan-i Shah Waliullah 2nd ed. (Lahore: Idara Taqafat-i Islamiyah, 1988). preface.
- (27) Mazheruddin Siddiqi, pp. 19, 20.
- (28) W.C. Smith, Modern Islam in India. (New Delhi: Usha Publications, 1985), p.253.
- (29) Ibid.
- (30) M. Sarwar, Mawlana <sup>e</sup>Ubayd Allah Sindhi, p.41.
- (31) Ibid. p.42.
- (32) Ibid. p.46.
- (33) Mazheruddin Siddiqi, Modern Reformist Thought in the Muslim World, pp.78; Sarwar, <sup>e</sup>Ubayd Allah Sindhi, p.53.
- (34) Muhammad Sarwar, Malfuzat, p.123.
- (35) Mazheruddin Siddiqi, p.79; Sarwar, <sup>e</sup>Ubayd Allah Sindhi, p.273.
- (36) Mazheruddin Siddiqi, p.79.
- (37) Ibid.
- (38) Sarwar, Ifadat, p.284.
- (39) Ibid, p.271.
- (40) M. Sarwar, Mawlana <sup>e</sup>Ubayd Allah Sindhi, p.270.
- (41) Ibid, p.271; Mazheruddin Siddiqi, p.72.
- (42) Muhammad Sarwar, p. 299.
- (43) Ibid. p.253.

- (44) Ibid. p.254.
- (45) Ibid. p.227.
- (46) Ibid. p.256.
- (47) Ibid.
- (48) Ibid. p.227.
- (49) Ibid. p.230.
- (50) Mazheruddin Siddiqi, p.148.
- (51) Muhammad Sarwar, Mawlana 'Ubayd Allah, p.333.
- (52) Ifadat, p.422.
- (53) Mazheruddin Siddiqi, pp.97, 98.

CHAPTER FIVETHE IMPACT OF MAWLANA—‘UBAYD ALLAH SINDHI'S MISSION ON HIS POLITICAL THOUGHT

Mawlana ‘Ubayd Allah Sindhi's mission to Afghanistan and Soviet Russia left an indelible mark upon his later politico-religious thought. Just as there was a complete metamorphosis in his religious ideas as we have seen in the previous chapter, in the same way ‘Ubayd Allah seems to have developed his own innovative and novel ideas as regards politics during his sojourn in the foreign lands. He had witnessed radical reforms in Afghanistan during the era of Amanullah Khan (d. 1960); as a matter of fact one feels intrigued to speculate that Amanullah Khan might have been influenced by ‘Ubayd Allah Sindhi in pronouncing his sweeping reforms. Similarly, he witnessed the revolution in Turkey under Mustafa Kamal Ataturk (1881-1938) which culminated in the abolition of the Caliphate and the emergence of Turkey as a secular state. ‘Ubayd Allah's association with King Amanullah, his observation of the Russian revolution and his experience with the Kamalist reforms in Turkey, all these three factors contributed to the formation of ‘Ubayd Allah' political thought which embraced

liberal and secular ideas. However, in an effort to make the argument more coherent, it will be in the fitness of things to delineate 'Ubayd Allah's political activities prior to describing and analyzing his post exilic political thought.

I 'Ubayd Allah's political interests seem to have been shaped early in his life, soon after his conversion, if his own account is to be taken as a reliable guide. But since his biographical notes evidently bear the impress of his later experiences, they can be accepted only after making allowance for the factors which shaped his ideas after his visit to Moscow and Istanbul. Muhammad Sarwar, his student and biographer, quotes him as saying: After my conversion to Islam, I happened to study the biography of Mawlana Isma' il Shaheed (d. 1831). From the very beginning, I felt an emotional attachment to his personality. In Deoband, Mawlana 'Abdul Karim gave an eye witness account of the fall of Delhi. From my childhood my mind was filled with the stories of the Punjab revolution narrated by the females of my house<sup>1</sup>. I formed a political programme based on the epistolatory writings of Shah Isma' il Shaheed. It was both Islamic and revolutionary. But it had no relation to the movements outside India<sup>2</sup>. I took with me the group which was making a study of Hujjatullah-al-Baligha and

commenced my work slowly according to my ideas. Afterwards he adds: I took along with me (to Deoband) two tracts. The Shaikhul Hind (1850-1920) approved of them. In connection with certain questions on Jihad, our group was mentioned. The Mawlana expressed his approval of it and having suggested certain improvements, linked it to the movement for Islamic unity or Pan-Islamism<sup>3</sup>.

It appears from these statements of ‘Ubayd Allah that thus far he had not developed the international outlook which characterized his later thought and activity. However, he seems to have had a revolutionary fervour from a very age. Early in his career he was caught in the vortex of Muslim internationalism, for, he says that the Deobandi group looked to the Ottomans as the political leaders of the Islamic world<sup>4</sup>. Even Sir Sayyid adopted the Turkish cap as the distinctive headgear of ‘Aligarh students<sup>5</sup>. Shibli's accounts of his travels in Turkey further intensified this trend<sup>6</sup>. On top of all this came the Italian invasion of Tripoli and Balkan wars. So far the ‘Aligarh and Deobandi group had been working separately. These events brought them together. ‘Ubayd Allah being a product of Deoband and still closely connected with

it, could not escape this universal delirium. So much about the early political ideas and activities of ʿUbayd Allah.

In his personal diary ʿUbayd Allah says the following about his post-exilic activities: In India my program will be very much like this. I will always remain an ordinary member of the Indian National Congress in order that my responsibility might be controlled within the national regulation with reference to non-violence, and that I might be preserved from the disorderly movements of my confused friends; but I will not take any active part in any wing of the Congress. My preferred enterprise will be the propagation and teaching of Shah Waliullah. I will attract the attention of the intellectual elite in the direction of this noble adaptation. In this there will be an appeal to the religious scholar and sensible people. If any non-Muslim i.e. Hindu, Christian, free-thinker should like to study this philosophy, I will accord him my fullest assistance. Whenever there should be favourable circumstances, I will form my independent party on the economic principles in the light of the philosophy of Shah Waliullah<sup>7</sup>.

## II

Mawlana ʿUbayd Allah Sindhi's contribution to modern political thought is the curious document called the Constitution of

the Federated Republics of India (hereinafter referred to as the Constitution) which the Mawlana framed during his stay in Turkey. This document was first published in Urdu and then English. Half of this Constitution deals with what the Mawlana had baptized as the Mahabharat Sarvarajia party, a political party founded by ‘Ubayd Allah on the principles of Shah Waliullah of Delhi. The loose translation of the name of this party will be the Toiling Classes Protection Party. Literally, Sarvarajia means “Government of All”<sup>8</sup>. This little document begins with the activities of the Indian nationalists at Kabul and further states that it was the outcome of the revolutionary experiences of the Indian nationalist in Istanbul and Kabul. The establishment of the Sarvarajia party which would function on secular principles was the first impact of ‘Ubayd Allah's mission upon his political thought. It won't be amiss to portray the salient features of the Constitution.

After a brief introduction, the document states: The congress Committee lays the foundation of an independent party in the Indian National Congress, which will establish the Sarvarajia government in India. In a government based upon the Sarvarajia principle, it is necessary that: (1) the major classes of society i.e. the peasants, workers, and poor intelligentsia should be given the

right of representation in proportion to their numbers like the minor classes i.e. capitalists and landlords; this right of the major classes be secured in all departments of the Republican States. (2) such a permanent system of economy should be established as well save the masses from falling in debt and poverty, and save the country from foreign loans that may be detrimental to the political independence of the country<sup>9</sup>.

The Sarvarajia party adumbrated the following as its rules.

- (1) To secure complete independence of India and establish a Republican form of government, and to thwart all such efforts as are at present being made the purpose of which is to create one nationality in India.
- (2) To keep independent India free from Capitalist system and imperialistic policy and to make Indian society an example for human race.
- (3) To combine all the nations of India in the form of an Indian federation.
- (4) To create a Sarvarajia federation of all the Asiatic Peoples as anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist front.
- (5) To secure for the East its legitimate place in the comity of nations of the world<sup>10</sup>.



As regards the multi-culturalism of India and the urge to keep her unity, the Constitution offered the following solution:

The area of India is almost equal to that of Europe excluding Russia. Among the inhabitants of her various parts, there exist fundamental differences on account of the variety of their cultures, languages and social customs. The Sarvarajia party is sure of the fact that Indians, even when they have attained their freedom shall retain such differences of language and culture etc. as are at present found among various independent European nations. Hence the party does not rely upon any unnatural unity in India and altogether refuses to make such a unity the basis of Indian independence. The Sarvarajia party considers the freedom of each Indian country or Republic dependent upon the efforts of the labouring masses of that country and does not acknowledge any form of government other than the Federal System as a means of maintaining Indian Unity<sup>11</sup>.

As for the relationship between Sarvarajia party and the Indian National Congress and its plan of partition, the Constitution elucidated its goal like this:

- (1) The Sarvarajia party strictly abides by the creed of the Indian National Congress so that the party organization may

remain safe from haphazard bloodshed but the party shall not take part in the activities of the Working Committee of the National Congress, till it wins over the majority of the members of some big or small Congress Committee to its point of view.

- (2) The Sarvarajia party shall not keep its struggle for Indian independence within the boundaries of British India alone but shall include the Native states also within the sphere of its activities.
- (3) The Sarvarajia party does not take connivance of the provinces into which India has been divided by the Indian National Congress. But as an alternative to them, the party divides India on the basis of linguistic and social differences into such countries as in future can constitute kindred Republics.
- (4) The Sarvarajia party shall in its struggle for Indian independence extend its support to all those political parties of India the aim of which is complete independence and which in no way support capitalism or the capitalistic socio-economic formation<sup>12</sup>.

The Constitution of the Federated Republics of India, the brain child of Mawlana Sindhi, is an amazing and original document which bears stark resemblance to the formation of the former USSR. The only difference is whereas USSR had been divided into fifteen Republics, the Sarvarajia India of ‘Ubayd Allah’s construction had been divided into ten Republics. In the Constitution, India has been divided into three natural zones or areas, namely, North Western, North Eastern and Southern. The definition of “Sarvarajia India” is as follows: “That part of the North Western region which is bounded on the north by the lake Manasarowar [the place from where the river Indus originates], the Himalya, the Karakoram and the Hindu Kush; on the east by Nepal, Benaras, the Jamuna and the Chambal Rivers; on the south by the river Narbada and the Arabian sea; and on the west by Afghanistan and Persia”<sup>13</sup>.

It is curious to point out that the Constitution does not describe the north-eastern or southern regions; rather it builds on the North Western India so that it could function like a model for the remaining two natural zones of India i.e. the North East and the South. While dividing the Sarvarajia India into ten countries or Republics such factors as nationality, common language and

common socioeconomic systems were taken into account. That is to say that the envisaged partition was based on the aforesaid considerations. The ten Republics of the first natural zone of India which has been put under the rubric "the Sarvarajia India" are the following.

- (1) 'Bharat'. The principal cities in this Republic would be Delhi, Agra and Lucknow. The Dowab of the Ganges and the Jamuna are included in this Republic. Hindustani Urdu would be the common language of this "country".
- (2) South Eastern Punjab with Punjabi as its common language and Amritsar as its head-quarter.
- (3) Northern Punjab with Puthwari Punjabi as its common language and Rawalpindi as its head-quarter.
- (4) South Western Punjab including Bahawalpur with Multani Punjabi (Siraiki) its common language and Multan as its head-quarter. The city of Lahore will remain outside the three Punjabi Republics.
- (5) Kashmir, with its Kashmiri language and Srinagar as its capital.
- (6) Pushtonia, with Pushto as its common language and Peshawar as its headquarter.

- (7) Baluchistan, where Baluchi language is spoken and Quetta and Qalat are the chief cities.
- (8) Sindh, with Sindhi as its common language and Karachi as its capital.
- (9) Gujrat, with its Gujrati language and Ahmadabad as its capital.
- (10) Rajputana, with Hindustani Hindi as its common language and Ajmir as its principal town.

The permanent center of the Saravarajia India shall be Delhi. Lahore and Agra will serve as secondary centers<sup>14</sup>.

As regards the membership of the party, it was laid down in the Constitution that each and every male or female denizen of a Sarvarajia country could become a member of the party without any discrimination of race or religion provided he fulfilled the following five conditions.

- (1) That he would accept the creed of the Indian National Congress.
- (2) Faithfully follow the principles and programmes of the Sarvarajia party.
- (3) Subject him/herself to the party discipline.

- (4) Keep down the needs and comforts of his life to the standard of an average cultivator of his own country.
- (5) Transfer his or her property exceeding his needs to the party<sup>15</sup>.

Apart from the members, the Sarvarajia party would have its own volunteers. Each and every male or female person of any Republic without any distinction of race or religion could become a volunteer in his own Republic if he would fulfill the first three conditions explained above. The volunteers were expected to work on the pattern of the Boy Scouts of America<sup>16</sup> as it were. The duties of the volunteers could be subsumed under the following three rubrics.

- (1) The bound duty of a volunteer would be to come to the rescue of an Indian woman whose honour may have been threatened. Likewise, if a volunteer, whether male or female, sees that the sacred place of an Indian religion is in danger, he or she will come forward and protect it. In both the eventualities the volunteer will do his job even if he had to lay down his life.
- (2) If a volunteer happens to be a Hindu, he would not only treat the untouchables on a par with members of other casts

but also give equal treatment to those who have made India as their home.

- (3) If a volunteer happens to be a Muslim, it will be bounden duty to abide by the following decision of the Congress Committee Kabul: "The Congress Committee, Kabul, knows that the leaders of the Islamic World consider British domination of India the sole cause of their misfortunes; and when they are told that the insistence of the Indian Muslims on cow-slaughter is one of the obstacles in the path of Indian freedom, they condemn this attitude of the Indian Muslims. Therefore, the Congress Committee Kabul resolves that cow-slaughter should altogether be stopped in those localities which have a mixed population of the followers of different religions"<sup>17</sup>.

As regards the formation of legislature and the socioeconomic agenda of the Sarvarajia party, the Constitution adumbrated the following rules and regulations.

Each and every adult and sane individual, be it male or female, would be permitted to cast vote. Various social classes such as peasants, labourers, scholars and factory owners would send people from their own classes to the legislature in proportion

to their population. In this way, peasants, labourers and scholars will dominate the parliaments of the various Republics and the legislature will ensure the rights of workers.

All public utilities will be nationalized. Right of possessing private property both movable and immovable shall be restricted. Property over and above a fixed limit shall be considered national. The lowest limit of private property shall be fixed by the Sarvarajia party conferences. Progressive income tax, not exceeding fifty percent of the income, shall be levied on the rich. The party stood for the abolition of landlordism and the nationalization of lands. None but the state and the cultivator will have any connection with the land. In those Republics of Sarvarajia India which have a predominant Muslim population, the party will force the landlords to renounce their right of possessing land in accordance with the law of "Umar Farooq, the Great; and oblige rent farmers to abstain from rent farming i.e. Muzariat according to the laws of Imam Abu Hanifa (699-767). Landlords should be permitted to work as government agents only. Every peasant family will necessarily be given so much land for cultivation as it can cultivate<sup>18</sup>.

Usury and lending of money on interest will be altogether forbidden. The old debts of the labouring masses will be paid off



and permanent arrangements shall be made in future for advancing loans without interest or for giving grant-in-aid to the needy. Nationalized factories and workshops will be run under the management of Workers Council; and profit sharing will be introduced in these factories. The shall provide good houses and free medical help to working class families. Primary as well as middle school education will be free and compulsory<sup>19</sup>.

Internal trade will be conducted through co-operative societies. Foreign trade will be in the hands of federal government. Every Republic can adopt the religion of the majority as state religion provided it does not oppose the economic and social principles of the party. The Federal Government will be secular; it will have nothing to do with Religion, nor shall it have the right to interfere in the affairs of those religions which don't contradict the socioeconomic agenda of the party.

According to Zafar Hasan Aibak, the political programme of Sindhi was intended to actualize the following objectives.

- (1) To get complete independence for India and establish there a federal system of government.
- (2) To preserve the rights of Muslims and other minorities in India and to safeguard Islam.

- (3) To establish in India a Government run by the majority of the working class i.e. peasants, labourers and intelligentsia; to uproot feudalism and capitalism from the country so that the people are not duped by the slogan of Communism. The point which has been emphasized here is that in an exploitative society the masses would readily become prey to the Communist propaganda.
- (4) To establish Asiatic federation in order to combat Imperialism<sup>20</sup>.

In fine, the 'Constitution' of 'Ubayd Allah insisted on Indian self reliance. Indians had been admonished not to rely any longer on extraneous help or support. This is done with reference to the Kamalist policy of what Dr. Iqbal described as "sinking into the self" and desistance from Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turanism<sup>21</sup>. This distancing from the affairs of the international Muslim community led 'Ubayd Allah to coin his own brand of Indian nationalism.

In his autobiography the veteran Indian politician and the first prime minister of India, namely, Jawaharlal Nehru (d. 1964) who had a meeting with Sindhi in Italy in 1926, made the following comments on the Constitution which 'Ubay Allah had framed in Turkey. "He had produced a scheme for the 'United States' or

'United Republics of India' which was quite an able attempt to solve the communal problem. He told me of some of his past activities in Istanbul (it was still called Constantinople then) and, not attaching much importance to them, I soon forgot about them. Some months later he met Lala Lajpat Rai and, apparently, repeated the same story to him. Lalaji was vastly impressed and exercised about it, and that story, with many unjustifiable inferences and amazing deductions, played an important part in the Indian Council elections that year. Moulvi Obeidulla [Sic] later went to the Hedjaz and for years past no news of him has come my way"<sup>22</sup>.

### III

About his stay in Turkey, 'Ubayd Allah said the following in his diary:

In 1923 I reached Ankara. My travel had been scheduled by the Turkish ambassador in Moscow and the foreign minister of Russia. They arranged the passage so that British Intelligence should have no knowledge of it. (This is an error that I went to Istanbul at the time when Britain and France were in control). For nearly three years I remained in Turkey. I made an historical study of the Pan-Islamic movement. In the near future I can see no

administrative centre for it. For this reason, like the Turks, I considered it necessary to affiliate my Islamic religious movement with Indian National Congress, and in Congress I printed the programme of my party on my principles, according to which my religious movement could be preserved from every opposing revolution<sup>23</sup>.

In introducing Islam in this way to Europe, I think I demonstrated the intellectual appeal according to the heartfelt wish of my teacher of teachers and leader, Mawlana Muhammad Qasim Deobandi (d. 1880)<sup>24</sup>.

The permission of the Ankara government to distribute our programme was obtained through the Turkish police. The foreign minister having had it translated it through two interpreters, did not grant the permission until he had read every word. Some Hindu friends could not read Urdu, and for their convenience I had it translated into English. In Istanbul, I had an exchange of views with Lala Lajpat Rai. And in the same way I had a thorough conversation with Dr. Ansari. Our venerable leaders could not accept our programme, nor could they suggest a better alternative. Rather they would have tried to take us back a thousand or two thousand years and situate us in the past. However, Pundit

Jawaharlal Nehru wrote me a few words approving our programme which delighted me very much<sup>25</sup>.

Initially, Sindhi was a great protagonist of Pan-Islamism. Like his several co-religionists, he had offered great sacrifices for the preservation of the Ottoman Caliphate. However, in Turkey he realized to his deep shock and anguish that even the moderates were not in favour of Pan-Islamism. His first rate knowledge of the emergence of Turkey as a Republic convinced him of the depth of Turkey's revolution and compelled him to abandon radically his old ideas. 'Ubayd Allah's acceptance of the new realities and his ability to adjust himself to the changed circumstances ensures for him an eminent place among the Pakistani leaders of thought<sup>26</sup>.

#### IV

On Friday October 14, 1927 when 'Ubayd Allah was staying at Makkah, a semi-official newspaper of Japan i.e. Japan Times brought out the following interview of Raja Mahendra Pratap, an associate of 'Ubayd Allah.

"The overthrow of the British rule in India may happen at any moment---I do not believe---anti-British uprisings in India would result in the Bolshevization of that country. Indians may perhaps evolve a new form of state as astounding as the sudden

change of Russia from absolutism to extreme Communism and would very probably be held as an example by all the world as an ideal form of government"<sup>27</sup>.

The political programme of Sindhi, the blue prints of which have been explained in the section II of this chapter, carries resemblance with the above mentioned interview of Pratap. After all both were revolutionaries who had imposed upon themselves self styled exile for a considerably long period of time. Pratap who had been likened to the "Marco Polo of the east"<sup>28</sup> lived in exile for twenty three years as he himself says in his autobiography. On the other hand 'Ubayd Allah stayed in exile for twenty five years. The programme which Sindhi published in Turkey had a clear stamp of socialistic ideas. However, obviously he did not recommend Communism for India. His programme was a mixture of Islam as he had learnt it from the teachings of Shah Waliullah; Communism as it had been stripped off from atheism and Islamized, thanks to the philosophy of Shah Waliullah; and finally Indian nationalism the significance of which had been revealed to him during his bitter experiences in foreign lands, more specifically in the Muslim countries that he had visited during the course of his meandering.

‘Ubayd Allah accepted the concept of composite nationalism as a means of solving the political problem of India in the wake of the departure of the British. However, it appears that he was only a nominal member of the Indian Congress. The Congress had lost its importance or respect for Sindhi for the simple reason that it preached the revival of Hinduism and struggled to highlight the leadership of Gandhi (d. 1948). Hindu capitalism dominated the congress and this fact, in the opinion of Sindhi was anathematic to Islam which was essentially an egalitarian and anti-capitalistic religion. After 1941 Sindhi was in favour of the unity between the Muslim League and the Congress. He desired to see the Congress in the shape of an “Indian World Congress”<sup>29</sup>.

## V

Upon his return to India, ‘Ubayd Allah did not take active part in Indian politics. However, from time to time he shocked his fellow ‘Ulama and his fellow countrymen by giving expression to his ideas. For example, on 3rd June 1939 he addressed the ‘Ulama of the province of Bengal belonging to the Jam‘iyatul ‘Ulama-i Hind on the occasion of its annual meeting at Calcutta. Muhammad Sarwar says that the Mawlana's speech was like a bomb the sound of whose explosion reached very far and wide. It was the voice of

an authentic and aged religious scholar. It was for the first time that the Ulama heard from a man of their own ilk something which they had not heard before<sup>30</sup>; something new and strange and naturally it must have shocked and flabbergasted them. The gist of the Mawlana's speech is as follows:

- (1) A universal revolution is imminent. India could not remain oblivious to this revolution. This was an allusion to the Russian revolution the spectre or the grimest details of which Ubayd Allah had witnessed with his own eyes.
- (2) The foundation of our politics should be established on nationalism.
- (3) Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims and the scholars and intellectuals of other religions should harmonize their religious philosophies with the economic system of Europe and Socialism. By doing so they would be able to create awareness among their masses very rapidly.
- (4) This harmony or reconciliation between religions and Socialism should be carried out by bringing to aid the essence or philosophies of different religions. The inclusion of religious rituals in a national movement, no matter how sincere the political leaders may be, will lead the country



towards disaster. This was a clear reference to the politics of Mr. Gandhi whose presence in the Congress had contributed to the introduction of several Hindu rituals in the Congress.

- (5) The Jam'iyatul 'Ulama-i Hind should accept Shah Waliullah as their Imam or leader in their revolutionary politics. By so doing, both the form and substance of Islam will be saved. Furthermore by this practice i.e. accepting the leadership of Shah Waliullah, the desired congruence between Islam and Socialism will also come about.
- (6) The 'Ulama should abandon the anti-British attitude which has characterized their thought and practice. Our religious leaders and the elders of our country should take maximum advantage from the British rule which has been in vogue for the last two hundred years.
- (7) We have obstructed our progress by our hatred to Europe. This hatred should now be discontinued.
- (8) We need a social revolution so that our country could be able to take part in international movements.
- (9) The concept of Wahdat-al-Wujud (ontological monism) should be accepted as the intellectual or philosophical basis of Tasawwuf which in itself is a philosophical system of

Islam. By virtue of this concept, a reconciliation between the religious philosophy of Islam and Hinduism could be accomplished. Shah Waliullah is our Murshid (guide) and teacher in this respect.

- (10) I intend to open up a madrasa in Jami<sup>e</sup>a Islamia Delhi which will disseminate the philosophy of Shah Waliullah<sup>31</sup>. Some of these point will be elaborated below.

‘Ubayd Allah was against the leadership of Gandhi, for, apart from being a politician, he was also a religious leader<sup>32</sup>. It was for this reason that he made incessant attacks on Gandhi who had introduced Hindu rituals in the proceedings of the Congress. Furthermore, it was the opinion of ‘Ubayd Allah that Gandhi was doing great harm to the Muslims in particular and the Indians in general, for, his concept of Indian nationalism was limited to Hindu culture and philosophy and the development of Hindi language. Gandhism, in his opinion was a reactionary force<sup>33</sup>.

‘Ubayd Allah was glad that the Muslim League and the Khaksars had ranged themselves against Gandhism<sup>34</sup>. Sarwar maintains that

‘Ubayd Allah believed in one India but not in one Indian nation<sup>35</sup>.

By raising the slogan of one nation, one language and one culture, Gandhi intended to revive the primordial culture of Aryans. ‘Ubayd

Allah complained that Gandhi overlooked the fact that for the last eight hundred years or so a new nation had been in existence in India which had given to the people of the land a new language, culture and ideology and this new Muslim nation had as much a right and stake in the country as Mr. Gandhi's own philosophy and culture<sup>36</sup>. According to Sindhi, India was more like Europe with its myriad nationalities, languages and culture existing in their own right<sup>37</sup>.

‘Ubayd Allah's concept of “social revolution” is pregnant with several meanings and possibilities. The point which he seems to make is that the concept of political independence is a limited one. Similarly, economic independence too has got its own limits. But “social revolution” entails a total and radical change in the society. The old society is replaced by a new one and outmoded institutions are done away with<sup>38</sup>. The poverty, backwardness and dependency upon others and internal political chaos which one witnesses in most of the Afro-Asian countries of today are mainly because that these countries have not been able to bring about “social revolution” in their own countries<sup>39</sup>.

‘Ubayd Allah Sindhi's defense of Wahdat-al-Wujud was clearly meant to bring about a rapprochement between Islam and

Hinduism in India. Assuredly, he did not intend to merge Islam into the ocean of Hinduism; rather he wished to use this concept for a political expediency. This was in consonance with ‘Ubayd Allah’s scheme of things. In the realm of politics, Sindhi’s ideal or guru was not Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed who desired to implement Islamic Shari‘a, but rather the eclectic Akbar who had fabricated the Din-i-Ilahi in an effort to come to terms with a vast empire in which there were several religions and languages. ‘Ubayd Allah claims that Akbar’s Din-i-Ilahi was based on the concept of Wahdat-al-Wujud<sup>40</sup>. In a pluralistic, multicultural and multi-religious society such as India, ‘Ubayd Allah argued, the concept of Wahdat-al-Wujud could function like an elixir for the entire malaise of the inhabitants of India. ‘Ubayd Allah was so much optimistic about the effectiveness of this concept that he claimed that by this concept even a scientist would be forced to believe in the existence of God<sup>41</sup>.

## VI

While presiding over the anti-separation conference held at Kambakunam (Madras, Southern India) in June 1941<sup>42</sup>, Mawlana Sindhi gave vent to his ideas in the following fashion.

- (1) The Nizam of Hyderabad is a responsible and sagacious Muslim ruler. While running the affairs of his government, he does not forget the fact that he is a Muslim. Nevertheless, he does not call his government Islamic. Appreciate this judicious decision of his and stop calling any part of India as "Pakistan"<sup>43</sup>.
- (2) The Indian Muslims have been in a state of insomnolence for the last two hundred years. They did not appreciate the work of their best thinkers. They murdered their well-wishers by colluding with their enemies. Such blunders were committed several times by the Muslims of North and South India. Had this not been the case, Sultan Tipu (d. 1799) and Shah Isma'il Shaheed (d. 1831) would not have been martyred. The Indian Muslims had the natural ability to be at the centre of the revolution, but because of the blunders committed by them their individual capacity to be the harbingers of a revolution was lost<sup>44</sup>.
- (3) For the last fifty or sixty years Indian Muslims have lost self confidence. The reason for this is that they have let the Muslims of other countries to be the masters of their destiny. At the behest of European powers, the Muslims belonging to

other countries are becoming the leaders of Indian Muslims. The revolution which has turned things upside down in Europe, is also casting its spell upon Muslim countries which are now worried about their own existence. Therefore, they will forget about the Indian Muslims completely<sup>45</sup>.

- (4) Do not put your reliance on such a band of rich people who neither possess military power nor legal or constitutional authority nor do they have any links with an international body. Assign your affairs to your youth only. They will form a national government in their country. The young man of your country knows very well that the era of Ashoka or Shah Jahan could not be revived<sup>46</sup>.
- (5) Our youth should not accept any system short of democracy. it is not possible to utilize the full strength possessed by the members of a society without a democratic system. The idle rich man and the religious scholar preaching spiritualism have no place in a democratic polity.
- (6) When you decide to go to the fold of Congress, it is obligatory upon you to carve out your independent party (inside the Congress). (This is precisely what he himself had done by founding a political party inside the Congress). A

Muslim like myself can neither succeed by walking in the footsteps of Gandhi, nor can he popularize his movement among Muslim masses by joining the camp of socialists. Therefore, organize your party on such high principles wherein your religion and the economic system of the world would converge. Numbers do not count. The Indian Muslim is very powerful if only he would realize his strength. Even a wise minority could make a leading party in the country. I ask your youth to enlist similar minded nationalists (Muslims and non-Muslims alike) in their party and advance further to get charge of the "Dominion States" from the British government. Furthermore, the party will make efforts to transform the Congress into the "International World Congress"<sup>47</sup>.

## VII

On 17 April, 1944, that is about four months prior to his death, 'Ubayd Allah addressed the Jam'iyat-i Talaba Sindh<sup>48</sup>, a group of students belonging to the Arabic madaris from Sindh. On that occasion he said; if you ask me as to how the students of Arabic schools could learn politics while standing aloof from the present political tumult, I will advise the following:

- (1) The students of Arabic schools should learn English. An easy way of learning English is that these students should practice reading and writing, first Urdu and then Sindhi, in Roman characters. After learning the English alphabets, they will be able, through a modicum of effort, to read and write Urdu and Sindhi in English characters. A student going through this experience will be like a lay reader of the Quran who can recite without knowing its meaning. However, such a student will be able to use a type writer. This task i.e. reading and writing Urdu in Roman letters, does not require any organization nor is it necessary to study formally with a teacher. Each and every person will be able to acquire this skill through his personal effort<sup>49</sup>.
- (2) After having achieved this initial success, the student should read the first seven English books (which are taught till matric) in the same way as Karima Nam-i Haqq (the first book of Panj Kitab (five books), a book in Persian which is taught to children) and then practice writing these books. Furthermore, the said student should seek the society of the English speaking people; he should impress upon the mind the correct pronunciation of the English words and should try to speak



English as much as possible. After reading the first five books of English, the novice should start reading an English newspaper with the help of dictionary. The time which he has specified for learning English should not go to other subjects such as mathematics, science or geography. An intelligent student of Arabic should be able to acquire this proficiency in English in six months<sup>50</sup>.

- (3) <sup>c</sup>Ubayd Allah interprets Jihad in terms of revolution. In this connection he said the following to the Arabic students: Shah Isma<sup>c</sup>il has written at one place that performing Jihad is Fard-i-Kifaya (a category of obligatory duties which can be done by one individual on behalf of his group, family or village). If it is not possible to carry out Jihad through force, one can get himself martyred and thus fulfill his duty. This alternative is available to every Muslim. But then for a Jihad there must be a group and a leader just as there is an imam (leader) for the five obligatory prayers. According to what Shah Isma<sup>c</sup>il says, I formed a group in Amrot in district Sukkar. We decided that we will die but keep the spirit of Jihad alive. Later, when I explained my scheme to the Shaikhul Hind, he became very glad. However, he added that in order to carry out Jihad I did

not even need a group. I could do it single-handedly and yet become victorious<sup>51</sup>.

The question then is how to bring about a revolution according to the principles of the Shaikhul Hind? I tell you that for this purpose we must learn from Europe. Our old weapons are not useful in this age. Mustafa Kamal Pasha and King Amanullah knew this fact very well. I also knew this when I was abroad. We must learn science and military knowledge from Europe. The best way to accomplish this will be to learn English and live with the English speaking nations. This is the call of the hour that we join the "British Common Wealth". We wish to educate our peasants. We want to give them political training and thus enable them to sit in the assemblies. But we do not intend to pit them against the land owning class. We know how to get the rights of peasants from farmers through the assemblies. We will not give up on the rights of peasants. However, a movement which has been imported from Russia is working in our country the purpose of which is to bait the 'comrade' peasants with the farmers. Since I have also been to Russia, it is possible that some people might think that I too invite peasants to fight with farmers. Entertaining such a notion about me is erroneous<sup>52</sup>.

## VIII

Mawlana ‘Ubayd Allah had founded a political party of his own which was called the Jamuna Narbada Sindh Sagar party<sup>53</sup>. This party was supposed to work inside the Indian National Congress. Initially, the Sindh Sagar was confined to North-Western India which ‘Ubayd Allah had already theoretically divided into ten Republics. The boundaries of Sindh Sagar ranged from Assam to Peshawar and from Narbada to Kashmir. The criterion of 'nationhood' was the unity or sameness of language, culture and civilization. ‘Ubayd Allah says that he wanted the Sindh Sagar Party to rule over the entire region, for, this party alone was capable to establish a true international system where in every nation would be independent and every country would have its own unique place<sup>54</sup>.

Muhammad Sarwar maintains that ‘Ubayd Allah was against religious politics. Today's era, he claimed, was the era of national, democratic and secular governments. Only such governments could have the competence to be the representative of the true spirit of Islam and its universal and egalitarian principles<sup>55</sup>. Furthermore, Sindhi was not against the Muslim demand for 'self determination'. However, he insisted that in accordance with the Lahore resolution

the right to self determination should be given to the areas and not the followers of any specific religion. In other words, the base for such a right should be the soil, and not religion<sup>56</sup>.

In fine, it should be pointed out that there was some kind of fantasy as opposed to realism in the political ideas of ‘Ubayd Allah. Perhaps Jawaharlal Nehru had this aspect of ‘Ubayd Allah's ideas in mind when he said that “‘Ubayd Allah was not in touch with modern ideas”<sup>57</sup>. The crux of the matter is that Sindhi had developed modern ideas ahead of his time<sup>58</sup>. As things stand today, many countries around the globe are heading towards a system envisioned by ‘Ubayd Allah decades ago. It is possible that a time might come when ‘Ubayd Allah Sindhi's ideas might play an important role in revolutionizing the politico-religious system of Pakistan, or for that matter of the Islamic world.

**NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER FIVE**

- (1) Muhammad Sarwar, Mawlan ʿUbayd Allah Sindhi Halat-i-Zindagi Taʿlimat awr Siyasi Afkar 6th ed. (Lahore: Sindh Sagar Academy, 1982), pp. 42,380; Muhammad Sarwar, Khutbat-i- Mawlan ʿUbayd Allah Sindhi (hereinafter referred to as Khutbat). 1st. ed. (Lahore: Sindh Sagar Academy, n.d.), p.65.
- (2) Khutbat, p.66.
- (3) Ibid
- (4) Muhammad Sarwar, Mawlan ʿUbayd Allah Sindhi Halat-i-Zindagi Taʿlimat awr Siyasi Afkar, p. 376
- (5) Ibid. p.381.
- (6) Ibid.
- (7) Khutbat, p.74.
- (8) Deltev H. Khalid, "ʿUbayd Allah Sindhi in Turkey" "Journal of the Regional Cultural Institute," Vol. No 1 G2 (Tehran: Winter and Spring, 1973), p.30.
- (9) ʿUbayd Allah Sindhi, The Constitution of the Federated Republics of India (hereinafter referred to as the Constitution), (Istanbul-Lahore 1926) as cited in Dr. Abu Salman Sindhi Shahjahanpuri, Mawlana ʿUbayd Allah Sindhi ke Inqilabi Mansoobei (Lahore: al-Mahmood Academy, 1995), p.3.
- (10) The Constitution, p.4.
- (11) Ibid. p.5.
- (12) Ibid. p.6.
- (13) Ibid. p.7.
- (14) Ibid. p.9.

- (15) Ibid. p.10.
- (16) The Oath and Law of the Boy Scouts of America requires some of the following duties.  
A scout is supposed to be "a friend to all and a brother to every living man, woman and child regardless of race, colour or creed; to be prepared to learn to know dangers, to avoid negligence and to know the remedies necessary to help injured persons and save human lives---to be polite to all, especially to the weak, helpless and unfortunate---not to kill or hurt any living creature needlessly, but strive to protect all living animals---" (C/f Napoleon Hill and W. Clement Stone, Success Through A Positive Mental Attitude (New York: Pocket Books, 1977), p. 202.
- (17) The Constitution, p.11.
- (18) Ibid. p. 23.
- (19) Abu Salman Sindhi, Mawlana 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi ke Inqilabi Mansoobei, p.31.
- (20) Dr. Ghulam Husain Zulfiqar, Khatirat (Aap Biti) (Lahore: Sang-i Meel Publications, 1990), pp. 295, 296.
- (21) Deltev. H. Khalid, "'Ubayd Allah Sindhi in Turkey". p. 30.
- (22) Jawaharlal Nehru, An Autobiography (London: The Bodley Head, 1989), p. 151.
- (23) Khutbat, p. 70.
- (24) Ibid.
- (25) Ibid. pp. 70, 71.
- (26) Deltev. H. Khalid, "'Ubayd Allah Sindhi in Turkey", p. 30.
- (27) Raja Mahendra Pratap, My life Story of Fifty Five Years. (Dehradun (India): World Federation, 1947), p. 140.

- (28) Ibid. p. 80.
- (29) Jamil Jalibi, Barr-i Saghir men Islami Jadidiyat, 1st. ed. (Lahore: Idara Thaqafat-i Islamiya, 1989), p. 283.
- (30) Muhammad Sarwar, Ifadat-wa-Malfuzat-i Mawlana <sup>ʿ</sup>Ubayd Allah Sindhi, p. 73.
- (31) Ibid. pp. 73-75.
- (32) <sup>ʿ</sup>Ubayd Allah's criticism of Gandhi was based on the fact that Gandhi used the platform of Congress for the propagation of his ideas which were deeply rooted in Hinduism. <sup>ʿ</sup>Ubayd Allah argued that Congress was a political party which represented the aspirations of the various nationalities of India. The personality and philosophy of Gandhi was a great obstruction in the path of realizing this goal. Sindhi was shocked to hear the announcement of the secretary of the All India Congress Committee that "Congress was just another name for Gandhism". (C/f Muhammad Sarwar, Mawlana <sup>ʿ</sup>Ubayd Allah Sindhi Halat-i-Zindagi Ta<sup>ʿ</sup>limat awr Siyasi Afkar, p. 397. However, as a person Sindhi was very much impressed by Gandhi. He says that Gandhi reminded him of the teachings of Jesus Christ. Sindhi accepted Gandhi's concept of non-violence and said that in the early days of Islam the Muslims acted upon this principle. (Ibid. p. 398).
- (33) Muhammad Sarwar, Mawlana <sup>ʿ</sup>Ubayd Allah Sindhi Halat-i-Zindagi Ta<sup>ʿ</sup>limat awr Siyasi Afkar, p. 399.
- (34) Ibid.
- (35) Ibid. p. 404.
- (36) Ibid.
- (37) Ibid. p. 407.
- (38) Muhammad Sarwar, Ifadat-wa-Malfuzat-i Mawlana <sup>ʿ</sup>Ubayd Allah Sindhi, p. 74.

- (39) Ibid.
- (40) Muhammad Sarwar, Mawlana <sup>6</sup>Ubayd Allah Sindhi Halat-i-Zindagi Ta<sup>5</sup>limat awr Siyasi Afkar, p. 330.
- (41) Muhammad Sarwar, Khutbat, p. 112.
- (42) Muhammad Sarwar, Ifadat-wa-Malfuzat-i Mawlana <sup>5</sup>Ubayd Allah Sindhi, p. 104.; Khutbat, p. 129.
- (43) Muhammad Sarwar, Khutbat, p. 131.
- (44) Ibid. p. 132.
- (45) Ibid.
- (46) Ibid. p. 133.
- (47) Ibid. p. 139.
- (48) Ibid. p. 143.
- (49) Ibid. p. 159.
- (50) Ibid. p. 160.
- (51) Ibid. p. 155.
- (52) Ibid. p. 157.
- (53) The foundation of the Jamuna Narbada Sindh Sagar Party was laid on 24 December 1939 at the Dar al-Rashad Goth Pir Jhanda situated in district Hyderabad (Sindh). The program of this party was mostly theoretical. One basic clause of the programme ran like this: Just as the Doab of Ganga and Jamuna was a fountain of Hindu civilization, in the same way Sindh Sagar was a mine of Muslim civilization. If we could strike a compromise between the inhabitants of these grand tracts of lands in accordance with our ideology, then we will discover a key to solving the thorny issue of the political problem of India. (C/f



Muhammad Sarwar, Ifadat-wa-Malfuzat-i Mawlana ʿUbayd Allah Sindhi. p. 108).

- (54) Muhammad Sarwar, Khutbat, p. 165.
- (55) Muhammad Sarwar, Ifadat-wa-Malfuzat-i Mawlana ʿUbayd Allah Sindhi. p. 16.
- (56) Ibid.
- (57) Jawaharlal Nehru, An Autobiography. p. 151.
- (58) A disciple of ʿUbayd Allah Sindhi, namely, Lt. Colonel Rashid who had joined the Indian army at the suggestion of Sindhi records the following impression about the Mawlana: "I found Mawlana Sindhi rather tense, disciplined and rough in his life, but he did have his moments of humour and relaxation---He was soldierly and lived a very simple life. In fact he was almost like a hermit. He had advanced modern ideas, and thought ahead of time" (C/f Lt. Colonel K.A. Rashid, Historical Dissertations, Vol. 2. 1st. ed. (Lahore: Progressive Books, 1978), p. 127.

### CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to describe and analyze 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi's mission to Afghanistan and Soviet Russia. This grand mission which he undertook more or less one year after the commencement of the first world war, took him to several countries of the world such as Afghanistan, Soviet Russia, Turkey, Italy, Switzerland and finally Saudi Arabia where he tarried for a relatively longer period of time. Over a period of quarter of a century, he remained outside India making efforts, drawing up schemes for the unseating of the British Imperialism from India. On certain occasions he succeeded, on others he did not.

'Ubayd Allah had been dispatched to Kabul to persuade the King of Afghanistan to side with the Turks and in case German armies marched on to India to give easy passage to them'. He lived in Afghanistan for seven years and witnessed the eras of Amir Habibullah and his son King Amanullah. The former was an ally of the British who had secured his loyalty through 'hard cash'. A person of the ilk and integrity such as Habibullah could not be helpful in the gigantic task that Sindhi had taken upon himself. Habibullah considered himself as a weak person not capable to

pose any threat either to Russia or Britain. He likened his situation to "a lone man" who was "fearsome of the British and the Russian allies between the upper and the nether millstone"<sup>2</sup>. What he could do, therefore, was to provide shelter, financial and moral support to 'Ubayd Allah and the rest of the Indian revolutionaries then stationed at Kabul. Through an evasive diplomacy and procrastination, Habibullah kept the Indian revolutionaries at bay giving them at the same time a faint but false hope that when the appropriate time came, he himself would lead the Muslim armies to Jihad against Britain. However, deep down in his heart he knew what he was supposed to do.

After the mysterious murder of Habibullah, his son Amanullah 'the Impetuous' mounted the Afghan throne and declared his intention of securing complete independence from Britain. Both 'Ubayd Allah and Amanullah were revolutionaries and the two men had many things in common the most important being their hostility towards the British and a burning desire to come grips with them. There is abundant evidence to suggest that the stage for third Anglo-Afghan war which culminated in the complete political manumission of Afghanistan from the clutches of Britain, had actually been set by 'Ubayd Allah. Mawlana Husain

Ahmad Madani, a contemporary of Sindhi, claims that ‘Ubayd Allah was instrumental in Amanullah’s victory over the British.<sup>3</sup> During the days of Amanullah's crown-princship, the latter was very much supportive of, and friendly with, the cause of ‘Ubayd Allah. Even when Amanullah became the King, ‘Ubayd Allah was his advisor whose opinion the King would solicit in matters relating to war and peace. The disciples and associates of Sindhi served Amanullah in various capacities such as advisors, envoys, military officers and teachers.

However, Amanullah could not maintain his anti-British clan for his own reasons. Prior to his Kingship, he had very warm and brotherly feelings not only for the Indian Muslims but also for the entire Muslim community. This is borne out by several facts such as his welcome with open arms to those who made Hijrat (exodus) to Afghanistan, his support of the Caliphate movement and his enthusiasm shown during the movement for Islamic unity i.e. Pan-Islamism. However, with defeat of Turkey, the leaders of the Muslim world were disillusioned. In the changed circumstances, every Muslim state began to think in terms of its internal priorities. Against this background, King Amanullah had his own priorities. When the reigns of government went into his hands, he became

more tactful and less emotional. He could not afford to earn the displeasure of either great Britain or the Soviet union; in fact he needed the support of both these countries for the development of his own country. Consequently, he signed treaties of friendship with the two great powers. When he signed the last treaty with Britain, 'Ubayd Allah felt that he had been betrayed. Henceforth he had to seek fresher and greener pastures to realize his objectives.

After spending seven hectic years in Afghanistan, 'Ubayd Allah headed for the Soviet Russia in the company of ten friends and disciples. He passed through, and stayed in, the major historic cities of central Asia such as Termiz, Tashqand and Bukhara. In Moscow he had meetings with several Communist leaders.<sup>4</sup> However, he could not meet with Lenin, for, as he says, that he was so ill at that time that he could not recognize his close relatives. Had he met Lenin, probably the latter would have dubbed 'Ubayd Allah as the "grey-bearded wise man from the East."<sup>5</sup> In Moscow, 'Ubayd Allah had four meetings with Mr. Chicherin, the Soviet foreign minister. Chicherin conveyed to Sindhi the willingness of the Russian government to help in the liberation of India. In order to give practical shape to his scheme, Sindhi went to Turkey where he was to call a member of the India National

Congress and discuss with him the proposed project of the Soviet help in the freedom of India. But several factors crept in to make the scheme unsuccessful. First Hindu- Muslim disturbances erupted in India. The leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha, an extremist Hindu organization did not wish the interference of Afghanistan in the affairs of India. For them it was reminiscent of invasions of Muslims in the distant past. Secondly, 'Ubayd Allah demanded from the Russians unconditional support free from the scourge of Communism. Such a scheme was not possible as the Russians always conditioned their aid with the exportation of the Communist ideology to those countries which were the recipients of the Soviet aid. The only exception to this rule was Turkey which had received unconditional help from Soviet Russia. As regards the situation in India, the Soviet authorities stressed upon a social revolution which will have its roots among the masses. In other words, instead of relying upon external help or resorting to acts of individual terrorism, the Russians wanted the political leaders of India to bring about a revolution at grass root level. They pinpointed to the fact that political freedom was only one step away from social emancipation. The reality on the ground in India was not favourable for such an eventuality. The roots of feudalism and

landlordism were so deep, and the hands of the British imperialism so mighty that the tree of Socialism could not be planted in India.

After a stay of nine months, 'Ubayd Allah headed towards Turkey where he stayed for almost three years. There he published his political programme copies of which were dispatched to India. This programme mostly dealt with the Constitution of the Federated Republics of India, a unique and amazing concept which could be considered as a great contribution of a spirited individual to modern political thought. According to this document, the various Republics of India would work under the umbrella of a confederal arrangement. The federal government would be secular; in the provinces for which Sindhi uses the term 'countries' or states, the religion of the majority could become the state religion. Later, these Republics could secede from the federal government and become independent countries, but then the criterion of separation or partition will not be territory but rather culture and language. In 1915 when Sindhi was at Kabul he confided to his friend Mahendra Pratap that in those areas where the Muslims were in majority no decision should be made against their wishes. This was twenty five years before the passage of Pakistan resolution in March 1940. That is to say that he gave the concept

of Pakistan ahead of the Muslim League. Similarly, in 1924 when Sindhi framed his Constitution for the future India, the concept of Pakistan was already there. Furthermore, by making attacks on Gandhi, Sindhi was indirectly lending support to the Pakistan movement, even if he did not intend to do so.

‘Ubayd Allah was much ahead of his time. Those people who speak today of confederation between India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and other neighbouring countries in an effort to ease tension which exist in these countries and to enable the rulers to divert their attention to the prosperity of their people rather than spending huge chunks of their income on defense, on nuclear weapons, must keep in mind that ‘Ubayd Allah Sindhi had facilitated their task almost seven decades ago.

As regards the post-exilic career of ‘Ubayd Allah, he ploughed a lonely furrow in the country of his birth. None of his associates, political and religious, were well pleased with him. He was criticized by all religious groups, those associated with Indian National Congress as well as others, including the Jama‘at-i Islami, lead by Mawlana Mawdudi (1903-1979). He combined too much and harmonized too much. He was drawn and attracted by widely diverse movements of thought. But he seems to have had a highly



integrating faculty and a deep sense of history. He was too much of a revolutionary and had too much of the universalism of Islam to appeal to vested interests in religion and politics who were either fighting to maintain their power or struggling to share in the disintegrating power of the British. He did not see the cruder and more inhuman aspects of the Soviet experiment and the complete annihilation of human individuality under it. But in spite of all this, there is a depth, originality and universalism in 'Ubayd Allah which can not but evoke our admiration.

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CONCLUSION

- (1) Choudhry Khaliqzaman, Pathway to Pakistan (Lahore: Longman's Pakistan Branch, 1961), p. 32.
- (2) Lt. General Sir George F. MacMunn, Afghanistan, From Darius to Amanullah, 3rd. ed. (Quetta: Nisar Traders, 1979), p. 255. Similarly, he is reported to have said the following to the members of the same mission, "You show your wares and then we shall see whether they suit us" (C/f Raja Mahendra Pratap, My Life Story of Fifty Five years (Dehradunn: UP (India): World Federation 1947), p. 50.
- (3) Husain Ahmad Madani, Naqsh-i Hayat, p. 599.
- (4) Muhammad Sarwar, Mawlana 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi Halat-i Zindagi Ta'limat awr Siyasi Afkar. p. 33.
- (5) This is a reference to the first meeting between Lenin and M.N. Roy in which the former said to the latter, "You are so young. I expected a grey-bearded wise man from the East". (C/f V.B. Karnik, M.N. Roy, 2nd. ed. (New Delhi: National Book Trust, 1992), p. 31. The point which we make here is that the above description of Lenin fitted very well the personality of 'Ubayd Allah though he was not a socialist.

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